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WOLF-CHILDREN
AND
FERAL MAN

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District and Sessions Judge
Midnapore, India

Judge's House,
Midnapore

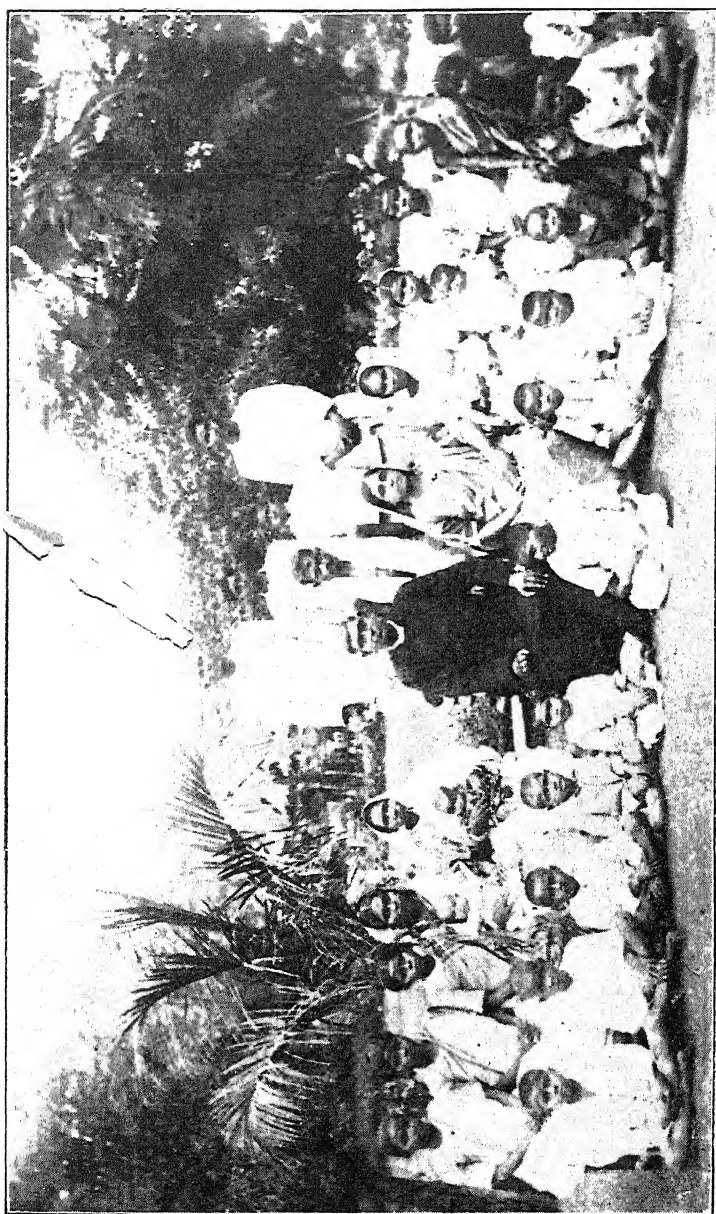
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The Rev. J. A. L. Singh has placed before me all the documents and evidence relating to the so-called "Wolf-children" of Midnapore, which I have studied carefully.

I know Mr. Singh personally and I am convinced that every word that he has written regarding the children is true, to his knowledge. I have also spoken to several people who saw the elder of the two girls on several occasions in Mr. Singh's Orphanage and they have confirmed Mr. Singh's accounts of the manner (for example) in which the children walked and behaved.

There is not the least doubt in my mind that Mr. Singh's truthfulness is absolutely to be relied on.

(Signed) E. Waight
District Judge
Midnapore.



Personnel of the Midnapore Orphanage: The Wolf-Child Kamala at the feet of Rev. and Mrs. Singh

WOLF-CHILDREN AND FERAL MAN

By

The Reverend J. A. L. Singh

and

Professor Robert M. Zingg

IV. CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE UNIVERSITY
OF DENVER



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FIRST EDITION

K-R

THE DIARY OF THE WOLF-CHILDREN
OF MIDNAPORE (INDIA)

By The Reverend J. A. L. Singh

Missionary, S. P. G. Mission and the Rector
The Orphanage, Midnapore
Bengal, India

with a Preface by

The Right Reverend H. Pakenham-Walsh (Bishop)
Christa Sishra Ashram, Tadagam, P. O. Coimbatore, India

and

Appendix, Chronology of the Wolf-Children

FERAL MAN AND CASES OF EXTREME
ISOLATION OF INDIVIDUALS

By Robert M. Zingg, Ph.D.

University of Denver
Author of *The Huchols' Primitive Artists*

FOREWORDS

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FOREWORD

by

Professor R. Ruggles Gates, Ph.D., D.Sc., LL.D., F.R.S.

King's College, University of London.

Chairman, Human Heredity Bureau, 115 Gower Street, London, W.C. 1

I FIRST heard of the wolf-children in 1926, through a note in the newspapers. I wrote to the Rev. J. A. L. Singh, feeling rather incredulous about the matter, and received further information in a letter dated from the Orphanage, Midnapore, Bengal, December 30, 1926. This made out a *prima-facie* case for the actuality of the wolf-children, which is abundantly substantiated in the diary now published. The account bears the unmistakable marks of truth, and although one may not agree with all of the interpretations of the Rev. Mr. Singh, the facts speak for themselves, and are of unique interest.

The evidence is, I think, conclusive that in former centuries when civilization was in a much ruder state, wolf-children were occasionally found even in Europe. The story of Romulus and Remus turns out to be mythical, but founded upon earlier myths which presumably had an ultimate substratum of truth. On an old Etruscan stele described some years ago is represented a she-wolf suckling a child. The original home of the wolf legend appears to have been in Crete. Here Miletus, the son of Apollo and a daughter of King Minos, (after whom the prehistoric Minoan civilization was named) was exposed by his mother, suckled by wolves, and brought up by shepherds. It is only reasonable to suppose that such legends were not pure inventions but were founded upon rare occurrences, among peoples in an early stage of culture.

Among wild aboriginal tribes in the jungles of India, where female children are still occasionally exposed, it is not impossible that one in many should be nourished by wolves. Great credit devolves on the finder in this case for recognizing the children as human, rescuing them, and making a record and study of their developing mentality.

In his letter to me in 1926, the finder included a short history of his Orphanage, from which I should like to make a few quotations. He says:

"I commenced my work among the aborigines such as Santals, Lodhas, Kurmis, etc., etc., from the time I was Head Master of the Local Mission High School, Midnapore, affiliated to the Calcutta University. I was brought in contact with them through a boy named Ramchand whom we (the staff) supported with everything, finding him very intelligent. He was attacked with cholera. I went to his place and administered such medicine as chlorodyne and camphor with prayers, and nursed him throughout. The boy recovered by the grace of God. Three weeks after, a body of men and women from his village came to me for learning the *mantras* (incantations) offered to my God at the time of giving medicines to Ramchand during his illness. They said that their sacrifices and *mantras* offered to their gods (devils) failed to cure him, hence 'your *mantras* are more efficacious and your God is a true god . . .' They readily accepted the Gospel and all of them, about 46 in number, were baptised by the Rev. W. J. Simmons.

"This incident attracted me, and I felt a call for the Ministry and left the Education Department. In 1912, after my diaconate ordination, I came here in touch with the aborigines. I found in every village I visited at least one homeless and friendless orphan roaming about in want of food and shelter. I gradually collected them and thus grew this orphanage which I started on my own responsibility. It entirely depended on my personal income.

"Mr. W. N. Delivigne, the District Judge of Midnapore, . . . took great interest in the work and formed a Committee to issue an appeal, but it did not mature on account of a special effort being made by the Metropolitan to raise the Emergency Fund." In 1920 there were sixteen children living in the orphanage.

India has a greater number and variety of primitive aboriginal peoples surviving in her jungles than any other part of the world. During a tour of India in the winter of 1937-38, as a delegate of the British Association, I visited the Mundas, Oraons, and Hōs near Ranchi, in Chota Nagpur, a territory adjacent to the Midnapore district of southwestern Bengal. I afterwards visited and photographed many other native tribes in South India. They are often so markedly different as to be distinguishable, even by a novice, by their features and stature, and not merely by differences in clothing and habits.

Probably the most primitive of these southern people are the Kurubas of the elephant jungles in Mysore. The Todas are a more advanced people of very different type, who are believed to have come from the north.

Their features bear some resemblance to the Gypsies, who may have left India a thousand years ago.

The Native State of Travancore alone has some thirteen native peoples, such as the short Kanikars, who live in the malarial foothills; the Pulayas, who are somewhat Negroid in appearance; the Uralis of the Nilgiri Hills, who live in trees to escape from the elephants; and many others. India is a paradise for the anthropologist, but the native tribes are rapidly becoming Hinduized. Further statements about the native tribes in the Midnapore district are given in a footnote on p. xxv.

Mr. Singh's Introduction gives an interesting picture of the conditions under which his journeys in the jungle were made, and this is followed by a highly dramatic account of the finding and rescuing of the wolf-children. I have added some footnotes to the diary, at the request of Professor R. M. Zingg, giving my interpretation of certain points or elaborating certain references to the local Indian conditions.

The greatest interest in the wolf-children centers, of course, in the psychological, educational, and anthropological questions associated with their mentality. I have long held that we are justified in speaking of an embryology of the mind, i.e., during the age of infancy and childhood, just as we study the embryology of the body. The highly abnormal environment created by contact of the infants with wolves, instead of human beings, affected deeply both their mental and physical development, each reacting on the other. They acquired a series of conditioned reflexes from imitation of the wolves, and at the same time the human aspects of their minds were completely in abeyance because of the absence of human models which could influence their mental and physical activities.

I have added several footnotes bearing on the question of heredity and environment, so that little more need be said here. Experimental embryology has made it clear that fundamental distortions of the normal development of an animal can be produced in many ways. For example, if the eggs of frogs or fishes are placed in water to which is added a small quantity of a depressant agency such as lithium chloride or magnesium chloride, the resulting embryos may be cyclopic, with a single median eye. The nostrils may also be fused and the mouth may undergo modifications, the degree of distortion depending on the strength of solution used or the length of time it is applied. By the similar use of atropin sulphate and other substances, a stimulating effect is produced on the head end of the embryo, the head becoming exceptionally large and very broad.

During our mental embryology similar distortions may be expected by analogy to occur. Many of these will be in the nature of inhibitions of

normal development, an extreme instance being the complete absence of human contacts in the case of the wolf-children. Just as the presence of certain substances in the environment of an embryo causes various distortions in its development, so the wolf-environment of the infants' mentality produced, through imitation, an almost completely nonhuman type of mind.

It must also be pointed out that although extreme distortions can be produced, both mentally and physically, by unusual elements in the environment, it by no means follows that heredity is eliminated either under the normal or the abnormal conditions. On the contrary, genetic experiment makes it clear that heredity is at work in both cases, and that the fundamental bases even for quite small physical and mental differences are determined by heredity, however they may happen to be distorted or suppressed in an unusual environment.

It follows that heredity and environment are the two sides of a single shield. The hereditary elements are received when the two germ cells unite. The environment plays on them throughout the whole of development. If the environment, physical or mental, is "normal" within reasonable limits, the result will be what may be expected from the physical inheritance. If the environment either of the body or of the mind, during its embryology, is highly depressant or abnormal, then we may expect the resulting body or mind to be equally aberrant, either through suppression or distortion of development.

FOREWORD

by

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author

Wolf Child and Normal Child, 1940

EARLY in 1927 accounts of the wolf-children of Bengal, appeared in the press. In spite of the incredibility of the tales, I at once wrote a letter to the Rev. J. A. L. Singh, into whose orphanage at Midnapore two wolf-reared waifs had been taken. It was gratifying to hear that a diary of observation was in progress, and in 1933 we learned that this diary was nearing completion. We therefore welcomed the opportunity to examine the manuscript which Dr. Robert Zingg, anthropologist at the University of Denver, recently placed at our disposal.

This manuscript is unique. It portrays with simple, unassuming precision a series of remarkable events, such as no novelist's imagination could have invented. The events have a poignant significance for anyone who is interested in the nature and growth of the human mind.

Anthropologists, by profession, are especially concerned with the origin and modification of human traits. They have given much attention to the phenomenon of "wild" man. It is accordingly fortunate that the diary of the wolf-children has been supplemented by a critical review of the extant literature on human feralization and isolation. Dr. Zingg has taken great pains to assemble and appraise all the available writings. His contribution serves to give perspective and scholarly background to the diary.

Furthermore it serves to accentuate the unique values of the Midnapore record. There can be no doubt whatever that Amala and Kamala early in life were adopted by a nursing wolf. The elder was subjected in turn to three crises which never have befallen any other mortal child. She was thrice bereft. She was bereft of human care, when she was carried to a wolf's den; she was bereft of the securities of her wolf life when she was rescued—and by unhappy chance almost starved in the transition; she

was pathetically bereft of the security of reminiscent kinship when her younger "sister" Amala died.

And yet Kamala survived. To an extraordinary degree she survived psychologically and achieved human estate. How could it come to pass? The diary will answer many of the reader's questions. To be sure the diary lacks concrete details which would be of great pertinence to the scientist. On the other hand the homely narration furnishes invaluable sidelights and contexts, which a more formal experimental approach might have obscured. Itard, the ardent young French physician, used much ingenuity in training the Wild Boy of Aveyron: but we cannot be sure that his methods would have been more effective than the simple devices and informal arrangements of the Indian orphanage. Nor can we overlook the powerful influence exerted upon Kamala through the skillful and systematic massaging by Mrs. Singh. This influence was profoundly psychological as well as physical.

Development depends upon duration. It takes time. The Diary covers a period of nine years, and fortunately the observations are dated. This enables us to interpret Kamala's mental development in terms of time. The ancient antithesis of heredity and environment proves barren. We are not dealing with the utter incapacity of true amentia, but with the suppression and the liberation of latent maturation.

The career of Kamala, even though cut short, demonstrates anew the stamina of the human spirit and the operation of developmental reserves which always ameliorate the adversities of abnormal fate.

FOREWORD

by

Professor Francis N. Maxfield, Ph.D.

Director of Psychological Clinic

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As a boy on the farm in the horse and buggy days one took the docility of farm animals more or less for granted. He would harness a horse many times his own size, though he had to stand on the feed box to reach to put on the bridle. He knew that horses would bite or kick if they were mistreated but that generally they were friendly and obedient. His experience led him to believe that there were two kind of animals, domestic animals like those he knew on the farm, and wild animals like those that his father trapped or hunted. Of course, some of these wild animals could be tamed. A boy on a farm down the road had a tame crow that could talk a bit, like a parrot. One of his friends had a pet racoon. But that was different. Domestic animals were just naturally tame.

As he grew older he came to realize that these so-called domestic animals were not born tame and that it would be more logical to call them "domesticated" rather than "domestic." He had known that a colt was first halterbroken and then harnessbroken, though the process was so friendly and gradual that it had not made any great impression on him. He also knew that if one of the cows dropped a calf in the woods running back toward the mountain from their hillside pasture his father took great pains to find the calf at once and bring it down to the barn. But the fact of the essential wildness of the offspring of the meek and docile cow was impressed upon him the year he first attended high school. In the early summer his father first failed to find, and later to capture, a calf dropped in the woods in the back pasture. For over a year this calf ran wild. He could not only "run like a deer," but had a deer's easy way of leaping a rail fence or stone wall. It was a wild animal and not a yearling calf that was shot for veal the following summer. Or, one might say, this was a domestic calf that had never been domesticated.

Consideration of feral children leads to thinking along the same line, only in speaking of human beings we usually use some term like "civilized," or "socialized," rather than "domesticated." This process of socialization is so gradual that we forgot that a child is born feral, so to speak; i.e., unsocialized and uncivilized. We take the process for granted and tend to feel that many traits are inherent in the child which are really due to process. (Cf. Giddings' "consciousness of kind.") It is only when we study cases like Itard's Wild Boy or these wolf-girls of India that we realize some of the failures in our thinking. The absence of this socializing process in the early years of the childhood of these feral children, a condition which the child psychologist could never think of setting up experimentally, is of genuine significance.

Since authentic factual data in regard to many feral children reported in the past are very meager or are entirely lacking, we are particularly indebted to Mr. Singh for his careful record of these wolf-girls. Apart from other substantiating evidence, his Diary carries its own internal evidence of authenticity. It is fortunate that Mr. Singh recognized the scientific significance which such a record might have; fortunate too, that he and Mrs. Singh had the degree of patience and persistence necessary to carry out their program in the face of much discouragement.

The case of Kamala is similar in many ways to that of Itard's Victor. Pinel, a physician who had had occasion to observe many cases of mental deficiency, endeavored to discourage his young enthusiastic colleague from his undertaking. Though Itard gave up his undertaking only after five years of patient effort, he still asked himself the question whether he might not have been more successful if Victor had come to him at an earlier age. Mr. Singh must have asked himself the same question in regard to Kamala and have wondered whether Amala would have made more progress than Kamala if she had lived.

But the scientific value of Itard's record does not depend on his degree of success with his wild boy. Neither should the significance of this diary be measured in terms of Kamala's actual progress. Moreover, even though some may question some of Mr. Singh's interpretations, they must acknowledge their debt to him for his factual record in regard to these authentic feral children.

FOREWORD

by

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HUMAN efforts at self-understanding have been hindered, most of all, by lack of perspective. Man, being culture-bound in actual life, has evolved interpretations of himself which are likewise culture-bound. Each interpretation has proved to be merely another unconscious attempt to give universality to what is really local and temporary. If the interpretation has been in terms of deity, then the alleged gods were local and ethnocentric; if in terms of biology, then the alleged "instincts" have been merely another name for local customs and ethnocentric sentiments. The discovery of isolated human beings, precisely because it provides a glimpse of human beings apart from the usual cultural context, thus constitutes an important avenue of perspective—ranking in significance with deliberate human experimentation on the one hand and with systematic societal comparison on the other.

There are, however, various kinds of isolation. First, there is the purely mental isolation which comes from being out of harmony with, or on a different communicative level from, the surrounding populace. Second, there is actual physical isolation, in the form of either solitary confinement (as in prison), accidental separateness (as in Robinson Crusoe), or deliberate solitude (as an anchorite). Such physical isolation usually occurs to persons who have been already socialized, and it has been the subject of considerable study. But the kind that is of greatest significance is the physical isolation of children; because in such cases we have the rare opportunity of observing the development of human beings prior to and apart from the almost universal cultural accompaniment and aid of such development, and we have a chance to watch the attempted acquisition of culture at a later organic period than ever occurs in human society. It is thus possible, in these rare cases, to observe *concretely separated* two factors in the development of human personality which are always other-

wise only analytically separated, the biogenic and the sociogenic factors. We therefore have a chance to test the results and conclusions which have been arrived at analytically. This advantage is increased by the fact that there is not one but two ways in which children may become isolated: one by artificial incarceration and deliberate neglect, the other by wildness and self-adaptation to a natural (i.e., nonhuman) environment. Each way supplements the other, from a scientific standpoint. The incarcerated child's development is at a minimum because the demands upon him are infinitesimally small. The feral child's development, on the other hand, is extremely demanding, despite its nonhuman and noncultural character. The very plasticity of the human infant makes it possible for him to make a noncultural as well as a cultural adaptation. He is able, for example, to eat the food and to acquire the habits of animals, and, if we are to believe the evidence, he is able to form an affectionate social bond with these four-footed creatures, identifying himself with them as over against mankind.

The cases of isolated children summed up by Professor Zingg afford a perspective which leads to one very broad conclusion—namely, that what we call *homo sapiens* is a species whose characteristics and behavior are standardized by the possession of culture. Without culture the behavior of this mammal would be unpredictable, depending upon the peculiarities of the particular environment in each case. This is contrary to the usual notion, which holds man to be uniform (within the limits of the normal frequency distribution) so far as his biological inheritance goes, but variable because of cultural differences. We speak of cultural relativity and of biological stability. Now we must revise our previous conception and acknowledge that culture is a stabilizing factor which gives man some of the universal qualities which he possesses as a species, and that his biological character is as much a variable as a stabilizing factor.

This way of looking at *homo sapiens*, substantiated by the data on feral and incarcerated children, raises a further question. If culture cannot be derived from the human being's biological equipment, if it is a stabilizing and standardizing agent in human behavior holding the variable biological elements to a common mold, where then does it come from? How can we account for the existence of culture? We are, I think, forced to regard it as an emergent, and to explain it in terms of an analytical schema adapted to this emergent level. A biologicistic or psychologicistic explanation of culture cannot suffice. If social life cannot be derived from the individual organism, it can be derived only from the societal system. A sociological explanation is therefore required. This is a momentous conclusion which most students of human behavior are unwilling to accept, because,

being culture-bound, a dispassionate analysis of culture itself is impossible; so that any explanation of culture must be "scientific"—i.e., in terms of some other level of discourse where dispassionate analysis is possible.

Professor Zingg rightly uses his materials to criticize the Aristotelian saw that man is by nature a social animal. Man is social because he is made social, not because he is naturally so. The grip of our own socialization is so firm upon us that we take culture for granted as part of human nature. We see cultural differences, but the general cultural uniformities which give stability to human behavior wherever found are not interpreted as part of culture at all, but as part of biological nature.

The importance of isolated children, plus the scantiness of the literature upon them, will make the Reverend Singh's *Diary of Amala* and Kamala one of the classics, ranking with Itard's story of Victor and Feuerbach's account of Kaspar. Professor Zingg's industry in combing the literature and making a tabulation of all known cases helps to push this field of study forward another step. He has, furthermore, made a number of interesting analytical points. Undoubtedly the entire book represents, therefore, a major contribution to the science of man.

PREFACE

by

Bishop H. Pakenham-Walsh

Christa Sishya Ashram

Tadagam P. O.

Coimbatore, So. India

THE writer of this book, the Reverend J. A. L. Singh, was once a student of Bishop's College, Calcutta, of which I later on became principal, and he received his theological training there. He has done many years excellent service in the Diocese of Calcutta in connection with the S.P.G., and has been for a long time a missionary in charge at Midnapore, a town about eighty miles southwest of Calcutta. Here he and his wife have maintained an Orphanage, for which they have made themselves financially responsible. It was to this Orphanage that the wolf-children were brought.

I happened to be at a Student Christian Camp at Midnapore in August, 1926, six years after the rescue of the wolf-children, and heard then for the first time about the event. Amala, the younger wolf-child, was already dead, and Kamala was thought to be about fourteen years of age. I was allowed to see her, and I questioned Mr. and Mrs. Singh minutely about these children; I saw the Diary and was shown many photographs taken at different times. I can, therefore, testify that the greatest care has been taken to secure that very accurate record, which appears in this book.

I was particularly asked to keep from the press all reference to these children. But I was glad to know that Mr. Singh had determined to publish a full account later on, which I held should be done because of its great scientific value. Unfortunately contents of a private letter of mine were inserted, without my consent, in a prominent London journal, and the press of many lands found excellent "copy." There followed innumerable letters, both to me and to Mr. Singh, asking for information. I typed a short reply that such and such facts were correct, but that no correspondence could be answered.

It was interesting to hear that the subject became a battlefield among

scientists, many of them asserting that the whole thing was impossible. On the other hand, not a few parallel cases were cited. One scientist stated that a she-wolf only remained in milk for six months; if that is correct, I suppose that the exposed children had been fed for some months by their real mothers before being abandoned. It is, I admit, amazing that children could have passed from wolf's milk at once to a meat diet, but possibly the composition of the milk given them helped to make this possible. I have no doubt that the advent of this book will lead to further consideration on the part of the scientists and perhaps again to controversy, but I can assure them that they can rely on the facts that are given in this record as true.

I ascertained from Mr. Singh that the very primitive people who inhabit the parts where these children were found, who are not Bengalis, do fairly frequently expose baby children. There, of course, is no reason to think that Amala and Kamala were sisters, but it is distinctly interesting that a wolf-mother should have been so pleased with her experiment in rearing a human cub that she should later on adopt another. I found out that neither of these children had acquired the aptitude of catching her own prey; their food was evidently brought to them by the wolves, and hence there was no trait of cruelty in their nature. When I saw Kamala she could speak, quite clearly and distinctly, about thirty words; when told to say what a certain object was, she would name it, but she never used her words in a spontaneous way. She would never, for instance, ask for anything she wanted by naming it, but would quietly wait till Mrs. Singh asked her, one by one, whether it was so and so she wanted, and when the right thing was named she would nod. She had a very sweet smile when spoken to, but immediately afterwards her face resumed an appearance of unintelligence; and if she were left alone, she would retire to the darkest corner, crouch down, and remain with her face to the wall absolutely listless and with a perfectly blank expression on her face. She had an affection for Mrs. Singh, and was most amenable to her directions during the time I saw her. She was not interested in any thing, nor afraid of any thing, and cared nothing for the other children, nor for their games. She walked upright, but could not run.

I saw her again two years later, and except that she had learned a good many more words, I did not notice any mental change. What interested me most was to find, from careful inquiry from Mr. and Mrs. Singh, that while the wolves had not been able to teach anything especially human to their little human cubs, so that there was no sense of humor, nor (except in the one case when Kamala wept when Amala died) of sorrow, very

little curiosity, and no interest except in raw meat, neither had they taught them anything bad. If one accepts as natural the use of teeth and nails when they felt themselves annoyed, there was no malice, nor was there any fear, as for instance of thunder and lightning, of big animals, of the dark, etc.; nor, so far as I could ascertain, was there any trace of pride or of jealousy. Human vices seem to have been as little inherited as human virtues, and this fact seems to me to have a very pertinent bearing on the consideration of what we mean by "Original Sin." It certainly shows the tremendous importance of the human environment, and of the training of little children.

INTRODUCTION

PART I

by the Reverend J. A. L. Singh

I RECEIVED my vocation for the Ministry in the year 1910, and I left the Education Department. I received the call in 1912.

Ever since 1907 I was fired with a zeal to explore human habitations in the jungle area—a large tract of land in this district, covered with stately trees, bushes, and creepers innumerable, and thickly grown. A path for a cart could not be found. We had to cut our path for a bullock cart. We had no destination. We were open to the wide jungle area before us.

It was a search for the aboriginals: Santals, Koras, Lodhas, Mahatos, Goalas, Urias, and Kols.¹

¹ This list of primitive aboriginal tribes in a relatively small part of India will give some idea of the very large number of types in the country.

The *Census of India* 1931 contains a large amount of anthropological material, especially Vol. I, Part III, Ethnographical; A. "Racial affinities of the people of India," by Dr. B. S. Guha; B. "Ethnographic notes by various authors," edited by Dr. J. H. Hutton. Simla, 1935.

The Santals in Bengal in the census of 1931 numbered 796,656, an increase of 11.9 per cent over the census of 1921. The following table shows how rapidly they are changing from tribal religions to Hinduism.

	1921 Census	1931 Census
Hindus	158,383	433,502
Tribal religions	553,657	352,386
Total	712,040	796,656

The Santals professing Hinduism have increased in a decade from 22.2 per cent to 54.5 per cent largely through the efforts of Hindu missionaries.

Koras. Their numbers in Bengal were 46,497 in 1911 and 49,265 in 1931. In the latter census over 90 per cent were returned as following Hinduism, and only 2476 as following tribal religions.

Lodhas. They numbered 11,001 in Bengal in the 1931 census, 9,820 of them being in the Midnapore district. This is an increase of 48.6 per cent since the 1911 census.

Mahatos. These may be the same as the Mahar. The latter are an Orissa tribe of basket-makers. They numbered only 1986 in the 1931 census and four-fifths of them are in the Midnapore district.

Goalas. A milkman caste (i.e., Hinduized), mostly in western and central Bengal, numbering 599,283 in the census of 1931. (*footnote continued on next page.*)

It was not my area as jurisdiction of the parish of Midnapore. It was through an inspiration I was impelled to preach the Gospel to these people, in addition to the cares of the Midnapore parish. We generally used to take this tour in winter. Sometimes we had to stay in the jungle at night. Having no other alternative we brought in big logs of dried timber, and prepared a circle, and covered that circle with dry leaves and branches. Inside this circle, which we set fire to, we passed the night with men, bullocks, and carts.

You could see at night the wild animals: such as tigers with their cubs, and other wild and ferocious animals roaming all round the circle, making faces, opening out their jaws, being disappointed of their prey, thus secured by the great belt of fire.

A good number of men always accompanied us. These men were of a sportive nature. They gladly accompanied us for the love of wild game. This was a grand opportunity provided by the Lord Himself. We never failed to have thirty men, and sometimes more, with us. These men we invited as we proceeded along from village to village in the jungle.

The people in that area are mostly poor, and some part of the year they almost starve. It was a pastime, and an opportunity to earn their living. They killed the wild animals, used the meat as their food, and sold the skins, horns, and nails in the Hâts (Fairs).

Each man carried his bow, a good collection of arrows, a battle ax, a long spear, and some foodstuff, accompanied by several drummers with his drums. We always carried two guns—a smooth barrel, and a rifle having a range of 500 yards. These guns were always loaded and kept ready on either side in the bullock cart, day and night. We carried provision for a fortnight or so, and a good collection of cartridges. In the event that we spent our supply, we also used to kill and eat, like our brave companions.

Thus we fared, and happily carried on our search for human habitations in the thickest part of the jungle on the western and southern side of Midnapore, reaching up to Morbhanj border and even beyond. It is a vast area of forest, thick and gloomy even during daytime. We generally had two bullock carts—one for provisions, etc., and the other for our

The Urias and Kols are rather indefinite terms ethnologically. Professor J. H. Hutton informs me that the term Kol is often used with reference to the Larka Kols and others of the Kolhan, a subalpine tract of Bihar and Orissa. This may be the sense in which it is used here. These people are Munda-speaking, but some related tribes have been Hinduized.

Uria might refer to the Oraon (sometimes written Uraon), a people widespread in this part of India; or it might refer to the language (Oriya). This latter term may be used for different castes speaking Oriya which reside mainly in the plains of Orissa. (R. R. Gates.)

habitation, day and night. We took three servants—two carters, and a spare man for odd jobs.

Thus we carried on our missionary enterprise from the year 1907 up till 1928 when our touring career was cruelly cut short. This period of our fresh zeal and enterprise was blessed with the conversion of seven hundred souls.

Two or three families at a time used to be housed at our residence at Midnapore for at least six months as catechumens, and after their conversion they were allowed to go to their native homes. These men were ever ready to venture their lives with us, in the thickest portion of the unknown jungle.

At times shooting became a necessity. When provision failed, these men would go out in the jungle to find out roots, fruits, etc., for days together. We had scarcity of water in this area and we always carried a good supply of water. We always stayed close to a stream, and this gave us an opportunity of shooting wild animals for their meat.

It was a hazardous life in the woodland. The scenery was enticing, and the living beauties were captivating. They goaded us on and on in our search. Such was the charming influence in our tours in search of men. We traveled year after year discovering the haunts of these men in their hamlets in the midst of jungle where they lived with wild animals.

The scenery of this area is so beautiful and enchanting that it is difficult to describe. In the forest the sun could not be seen even during the day; only a ray of sunshine could be seen, here and there, during midday, peeping through the trees, bathing its focus with a golden hue, glorious and superb. In the open, you could see at times a pack of deer grazing on the luxurious grass, but as soon as they came to know that we were approaching they sprang up in a body and vanished, leaving only the dust in a smoky form covering the whole place. It was a glorious silence inside the jungle and the serene calm pervaded the whole area, bespeaking the divine presence in the wood. On a cloudy day you could see the beautiful peacocks dancing on the trees and on the creepers, forming like swings from one tree to another. It was a pleasant scenery and I dare say it is only in the lot of the shikaris to see and realize such beauties in the jungle. At times close to the big caverns, about one hundred to two hundred feet deep, you could see the Bengal tiger, sometimes with cubs, moving about underneath and looking up to us. They did not dare approach us on account of the sounding of the big drums and the good collection of men with us. They only looked up and vanished in the cavern down below.

At the beginning the men of the jungle could not bear our sight in our

modern dress. They used to run away from us, disappointing us immensely. So we had to give up our costume, changing it into their mode of dressing and making ourselves just like them in appearance. This went on for several years till they got accustomed to us, and understood us to be their friends.

These people were not only courageous but bore a character almost blameless. They were simple-minded and ignorant people with strict morals, very sincere, and quite honest in their dealings. They were truthful, and would lay down their life for a good cause.

I was once taken to a big festival gathering in the midst of a thick jungle on the southwestern corner of the Morbhanj border. I found seven raised places for seven very old persons, who were seated on them. Here innumerable Santals were gathered together. They were drinking rice liquor prepared by themselves and dancing away all the time. All of a sudden the drums sounded and a glorious calm prevailed. A sudden stir again, and a couple, a man and a woman, were brought in, tied hand and feet. They were placed before the central old man, the fourth from both ends. The ropes were loosened and they stood before him. They were asked several questions. Then the seven old men consulted, and came back to pronounce judgment. The punishment was a death sentence. It was a case of adultery, caught red-handed, which they failed to deny. The sentence was proclaimed by the unearthly sound of drums, and a loud concourse followed. The young woman's hair was shaven and she was outlawed. Next the man was taken, tied to a big tree, and ordered to be pinned onto the tree by the archers.

Dreadful sight! To stay there any longer I could not, and I withdrew with my retinue. What happened later on I do not know. It was a horrible scene, dreadful to recall even now.

On my return to Midnapore I narrated the whole affair to Mr. W. N. Delivigne, the then District and Sessions Judge. After a few years the same story was told to Mr. T. B. Jameson (now at Hoogly), the District and Sessions Judge, Midnapore, and to Mr. Beban, the then Superintendent of Police, Midnapore.

This is a portion of my personal experience in connection with my missionary tours in search of the aborigines in their secluded areas in the district enveloping a portion of the Morbhanj Raj, which led to the discovery of the wolf-children.

I have reserved publication until now for the following reasons: 1). They were girls, and if the rescue story became public, it would be diffi-

cult for us to settle them in their life by marriage, when they attained that age.

2). We were afraid that such publication would lead to innumerable visits and queries, which would be a great drain on our time.

Keeping these two considerations in our mind, myself and my wife guarded the secret of the rescue so that no one in the Orphanage knew anything about their whereabouts and the wonderful discovery. We decided to divulge the story of the finding of the wolf-children only when they were near death from the illness of which the younger died. The doctor had to know the circumstances of their early life in order to know how to treat their illness. He told the story in Midnapore and the cat was out of the bag. It received a very wide publicity in India. Those who came to see the wolf-child carried the news abroad. The friends of our acquaintances in Midnapore came with them to see Kamala from all over India. These gentlemen and ladies could not be refused. Soon this onrush became so constant and the questions so numerous that we could hardly cope with them. We did not like it, but at the same time, we were unable to refuse such tiring visitors and their friends from different places in India.

Some among these visitors happened to be the editors and reporters of Indian newspapers. We were not aware of this fact, and they purposely hid this knowledge from us, because they came to know (and we also told them) that we did not like its publicity in newspapers. They came without giving us their profession and published it in all the papers in India, exaggerating what they saw and heard.

Very soon, to our disgust, all the papers published about the wolf-children in our Orphanage, but we could do nothing. They wrote and published accounts which at times were at variance with the actual history, but we did not care to corroborate or contradict. We took no notice of such publications, and refused such visits from the press.

At this time, in the year 1922, the late Reverend Father E. E. Brown of the Oxford Mission, 42 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta, and other gentlemen who knew all about the wolf-children strongly protested against the statements of the correspondents in the *Statesman*, published in Calcutta.

How did the wolf-children story reach England and other foreign parts, including America?

The students' Camp of Inter-Collegiate Christian Colleges came to Midnapore for a few days under the leadership of the Right Reverend Bishop H. Pakenham-Walsh, Principal, Bishops College, Calcutta, and he visited our Orphanage on the thirtieth of August, 1926.

The story of the wolf-children has already attained a wide publication in India, and the Calcutta students read article after article in the newspapers. At this visit the students raised the question by requesting me to give them the actual circumstances which led to the discovery and the rescue. Bishop Walsh at once took the lead and requested me to show them the surviving wolf-child, Kamala.

I made only one condition with the Bishop and the students, that they should not talk about it outside. We were afraid lest a new publication would result and requested them, therefore, not to tell anything outside or in their colleges. They agreed, and we showed them all the negatives of photos and narrated the whole story from the beginning to the end, on the thirtieth of August, 1926.

Somehow or other (I reserve just now to state here the medium of this publication) the story was carried to England and the information fell into the hands of the English press. Thus it was published abroad; England and America became highly interested from the psychological point of view.

I promised all the universities of the world who inquired about the wolf-children to publish the *Wolf-Children Diary* in due course. Time and means prevented me from publishing it for long. I am here mentioning most of the facts from beginning to end, enumerating just those incidents and training which would give a full view of the whole Diary, reserving for the time being the minor details, which would make the publication bulky and much more expensive.

INTRODUCTION

Continued

by Professor Robert M. Zingg

SINCE 1933, when the foregoing Introduction was written, nothing was accomplished toward the publication of this diary account of the wolf-children of Midnapore.

On January 20, 1937, I sent a letter of inquiry about the Midnapore case to the Rev. J. A. L. Singh, "The Orphanage," Midnapore, India. I was most pleasantly surprised to hear from both Rev. Singh and his superior, the Right Reverend H. Pakenham-Walsh, that a complete diary account of the wolf-children had been kept by the Rev. Singh. This account had been made, in keeping with the foregoing promise of Rev. Singh to the universities which had requested that a full record be published.

Far from attempting in any way to commercialize the children or this record of them, the Rev. Singh has been almost an unwilling publisher. Remote from publication centers, indecisive as to the advisability of publishing, and disappointed at initial difficulties, he lost interest in the manuscript. For some years it gathered dust on his shelves until his old friend, the Right Reverend H. Pakenham-Walsh, undertook to assist in arrangements for publication, besides publishing a summary article in the *Illustrated Weekly of India* (Bombay), November 28, December 5-12, 1937.

During the five years in which the Diary was in my possession, I made extensive efforts to check the validity of the document, as indicated below.

1. The internal evidence of the Diary itself is the best evidence of its authenticity. It would be incomprehensible and quite incredible that a humble Indian missionary far away in Midnapore could have invented so long an account, so consistent with material on other cases, most of which has never before been published in English.
2. Equally important evidence are the twenty-two ordinary kodak snapshots. Poor as some of them are through years of exposure in the tropics, or double exposed or blurred, the twenty-two pictures could

not have been posed or faked. The expert opinion of Dr. Arnold Gesell is especially valuable in this regard because of his use of many thousands of pictures in his study of the normal child.

3. One of the most puzzling statements in the Diary is that the children's eyes glared at night like an animal's, something anatomists considered impossible in the human eye due to its lack of that tapetum which causes night-shining eyes in animals. In the long footnote p. 19ff, the results of my search for instances of night-shining eyes in humans, all recorded in very recent publications, are submitted. These instances vary all the way from cave dwellers in India comparable to the wolf-children to a professor of the University of Florida who is gifted with an extraordinary power of night vision.
4. To establish the authenticity of the Diary, I have submitted it to the following scientists who I thought were best qualified to judge its internal evidence:
 - a. Dr. Arnold Gesell, already mentioned in connection with the photos, is an authority on the child up to 5 years of age, has many insights into the account, and is well qualified to test it. He has proved this in his authoritative and interpretative summary *Wolf Child and Human Child*.
 - b. Dr. R. Ruggles Gates of the University of London, an outstanding authority on human heredity and environment, has traveled widely in India, and is expert in judging the Diary from both points of view.
 - c. Professor Kingsley Davis, a sociologist of Pennsylvania State College, who has studied a tragic case of isolation of a little girl, Anna, somewhat analogous to the case of Kamala. Anna was rescued from the isolation of an attic. His foreword of the present book reveals his satisfaction with the Diary, the study of which he has made with a critical attitude.
 - d. Professor Francis Maxfield, of the Psychological Clinic of Ohio State University, has studied a similar case of a girl, Isabelle, of the same age who made a much better recovery than either Anna or Kamala. His foreword to this work accepts the authenticity of the present Diary.
5. Quite as strong evidence of authenticity of the Diary is indicated by the introduction of Bishop H. Pakenham-Walsh who knew the Rev. Singh as a student and who saw one of the wolf-children alive. I have been frequently in correspondence with the bishop throughout these five years.
6. Over a similar period there has been constant correspondence with the Rev. J. A. L. Singh who has been uniformly co-operative in answering many questions that have been suggested by others.
7. The most laborious task in checking the authenticity of this account

was the collection of the data I could find on all reputable similar cases of feral man or extreme cases of isolation. These data, good and not so good, give a background for testing these accounts one against the other. This material is given in the second part of the present book.

The Diary of the Rev. Singh carries the internal evidences mentioned above of its authenticity. The other part of my task was to gather the external evidence about the character of the author as revealing his reliability as a witness. This task was less scientific than legal, collecting documents, affidavits, etc., and required mostly just common sense in an attempt to evaluate the credibility of the Rev. Singh as a witness of what he said he saw. I have placed myself in the situation of a juror, whose duty it might be to sentence a human being to death for murder, a more serious decision even than evaluating the Rev. Singh's account of his rescue of two human beings from wolves. Even though a pastor should testify before me as a juror that he saw a murder committed, I should like to know many things about the witness.

Since he testifies that he rescued two children from wolves, I have tried, as well as possible, to check the Rev. Singh's life and reputation since his student days, under the tutelage of Bishop H. Pakenham-Walsh.

Apparently a colleague of the Rev. Singh's in Midnapore, the Rev. John H. Howard, whom I have made unsuccessful efforts to get in touch with, corroborates the Rev. Singh in a slightly inaccurate paragraph summary of the whole story. This indirectly reached Prof. W. N. Kellogg, and was published by him ("More about the Wolf Children," *Amer. Jour. Psychology*, 1931, Vol. 43, pp. 508-509).

Better evidence of the good repute of the Rev. Singh in his own community is afforded by the affidavit from the English magistrate of Midnapore, Judge Waight, given herein after the title page, on which the judge had affixed his seal. He knew the Rev. Singh and carefully inquired about the facts in Midnapore. His investigations included efforts to locate the Anglo-Indian friends of Singh's, who also participated in the rescue. Judge Waight's investigations before issuing the above-mentioned affidavit may be thus summarized:

The two Anglo-Indian friends of Singh who accompanied him at the time of rescue are not at Khargpur: Mr. Richards is dead and Mr. Rose is not to be found. Mr. Waight, the District Judge, talked with the authorities he knew on the phone, and could get Richards but not Rose and afterwards inquired from others at Khargpur and Midnapore to satisfy himself and was fully satisfied with the findings in his letter of 4. 10. 34., a copy which is given after the title page in this work.

Evidence that the Diary was not a hasty review after the facts is given by additional testimony from the court at Midnapore. The typist of the Judge's Court at Midnapore, James Rasickel Singh makes the following statement that he typewrote the Diary at intervals since 1921, the year following their rescue in 1920. His statement is as follows:

I am a typist in the District Judge's Court at Midnapore. I typed the Wolf-Children Diary of Rev. J. A. L. Singh from its very beginning since the rescue and admission of the children into Rev. Singh's Orphanage, in 1920. Rev. Singh himself dictated to me the notes he had prepared regarding his private study of the children in his Orphanage.

The rescue story and other parts of the Diary are exactly as he dictated personally and I typed them gradually from the year 1921 to help him, who depended upon me to keep the record of the rescue and his study strictly private and he gave me to understand as much. 18.3.40.

A doctor who attends the family is generally in a good position to judge the credibility of the stories they tell him. The doctor who attended the wolf-children, and signed the death certificate of Kamala, the elder child, Dr. S. P. Sarbadhicari, had died when I tried to get in touch with him. But the following statement from his son, Dr. K. Sarbadhicari, M.D. of Midnapore, dated 17.4.40, is good evidence of the reliability of the Rev. Singh as a witness:

"I am glad to say that Rev. J. A. L. Singh is personally known to me from a very long time. He is the Offy. Chaplain of St. John's Church, Midnapore, for the Civil and Military Officials, and a Missionary of wide reputation for his philanthropic enterprises. My late lamented father Dr. S. P. Sarbadhicari had been a Physician to his family in his Orphanage in 1921. . . . I am glad to testify to the genuineness of the Wolf-Children Diary written by Rev. Singh. My father had written Medical Notes on the Wolf-Children at Rev. Singh's Orphanage, Midnapore, and had handed it over to Rev. Singh."¹

¹ The last three quotations resulted from and are especially pertinent to a question on the Rev. Singh's Diary raised by Professor J. H. Hutton, William Wyse Professor of Social Anthropology, St. Catherine's College, Cambridge University, who as Director of the Census in India was familiar with the Indian newspaper accounts of the rescue of the wolf-children of Midnapore. In the (Calcutta) *Statesman* of November 16, 1926, he had seen an account attributing the Rev. Singh with the statement that the children had been rescued by a cultivator. While we were still checking this newspaper story, Professor Hutton presented that account of the rescue in his Presidential Address to the Folk Lore Society (of England) February 21, 1940, which has been published as an article, "Wolf-Children" *Folk-lore*, 51: 9-13, 1940 (see p. 170, fn. 39 of this book for further information on this article).

Since writing this he has written that he is satisfied that this was in error, because rechecking the Indian papers shows that the first publications quoted Singh correctly as hav-

Dr. Wilton R. Krogman, a former teacher of mine at the University of Chicago, carefully read the manuscript and asked a series of nineteen questions, which are given at appropriate places in this work. These questions were relayed to the Rev. Singh, whose answers are given in the footnotes, after Dr. Krogman's questions.

Publication has also been delayed through my effort to get in touch with many outstanding scientists, like the authors of the Forewords, who had previously written to the Rev. Singh offering their good services in assisting him to place the publication of any material which he had on the wolf-children. These scientists have uniformly been kind and helpful in getting track both of new cases and of the rare sources on old ones.

With their help, during much of this time, I have collected the materials on other cases of feral man. This material is presented as Part II "Feral Man and Cases of Extreme Isolation of Individuals," at the end of this work. This is done in the belief that the less well-authenticated data are worth checking in each case against the other cases, and against the *experimentum crucis* of the case of the wolf-children of Midnapore, from the pen of the rescuer, an actual witness of the association of human beings as animals among animals.

For help in gathering the materials in Part II, I am also indebted to Dr. A. Gesell, Director of the Child Development Clinic of the Yale Medical School, and also to Professor J. H. Hutton, Professor of Social Anthropology at Cambridge University, whose help was especially important since he served in the strategic position of Director of the Census in India, which gave him a wide familiarity with Indian cases of feral children. In a special measure this study is indebted to Professor R. R. Gates, whose advantageous position at London King's College practically put at the disposal of the study the appropriate facilities of the British Empire, including the famous Letters column of the London *Times*.

I am indebted to Professor Louis Wirth of the Department of Sociology of the University of Chicago for early reading and initial suggestions as to publication of the Rev. Singh's Diary, a service similar to that for which I am also indebted to Dean Robert Redfield, of that Division of the Social Sciences. To the latter even more I must acknowledge taking ad-

ing rescued the children himself. That the Rev. Singh was, as so many others have been, misquoted by the Press is guaranteed by Bishop H. Pakenham-Walsh who visited Singh and saw Kamala in August, 1926, and heard from him the story that he himself had rescued the children. Thus it is incredible that he should have been quoted correctly as saying something different a few months later. Conclusive of the falsity of the second story are the above statements of the Clerk of the Court of Midnapore, and the son of Dr. S. P. Sarbadhicari, both of whom have known of the case since 1920-21.

vantage of his presence in Guatemala in 1940 to forward to him the documents on "Tarzancito," an alleged feral case of near-by Salvador. He was kind enough to place them in the hands of Dr. Jorge Luis Arriola of Guatemala City. Unfortunately nothing more was done.

In checking the materials on this recent Salvador case, first published in *The American Weekly*, ("Mystery of Salvador's Jungle Wild Boy" Oct. 27, 1935) given wide publicity in Ernie Pyle's column of the Scripps-Howard newspapers on March 13-16, 1940, I am indebted for courteous and detailed replies to letters (see pp. 259-268) from Colonel Alfonso Marroquin, in command First Infantry Regiment, San Salvador, Salvador, and Señor Enrique Larrios of the same city, who sent me the original account of Professor Jorge Ramirez Chulo, Professor of Experimental Psychology at the Rafael Campo Agricultural School, where and under whose charge the education of the Salvadorean boy was carried on.

Here at the University of Denver, the interest and assistance of the late chancellor, Dr. David Shaw Duncan, and his secretary, Miss Evelyn Hosmer, must be gratefully mentioned. Also especially valued was the help given by the late Professor Ida Kruse McFarlane, and her assistant Mrs. Lenore Cook, who skillfully edited and typed the manuscript. Valuable help in translating must be acknowledged from Mr. Henri Folmer of the University of Chicago, as well as research assistance from Mrs. A. Marie St. John Outland, of Cleveland, Ohio. Invaluable bibliographic assistance was given not only by the librarians of the University of Denver, but also by Mr. John Van Male in charge of the bibliographic center of the Denver Public Library. Through these services it was possible to take advantage of the generosity of many American libraries and to get on interlibrary loan any of the original and all of the secondary sources in these cases which are to be found in this country. Mr. Sidney Hollander, Jr. contributed the benefit of his studies on the problem of feral man in giving valuable references, especially to recent magazine articles on the subject.

Special acknowledgment must be made to Mr. A. Merritt, editor of *The American Weekly* of New York City, who was the first American publisher of the material on the wolf-children of Midnapore in the article, "Science at last Admits that Wild Animals do Adopt Babies," September 17, 1939, and later articles summarizing the other cases (*Ibid.*, May 18, 1941, and December 28, 1941). Also with the formality of my most willing permission, as agent for the Rev. J. A. L. Singh, Dr. A. Gesell published the article, "Biography of a Wolf Child," *Harpers Magazine*, January, 1941, and a valuable summary book, *Wolf Child and Human*

Child, Harper and Brothers, Publishers, New York, 1941. I summarized the facts of the wolf-children of Midnapore briefly in an article, "India's Wolf-Children: Two Human Infants reared by Wolves," in the *Scientific American*, March 1941, Vol. 164, pp. 135-137, and summarized the other cases in another article, "Feral Man and Extreme Cases of Isolation," *American Journal of Psychology*, Vol. LIII, October, 1940, pp. 487-517. To these editors and publishers a special debt is due.

Most of all I am indebted to Mrs. Henry Pfeiffer, of New York City, without whose consequential help this work might never have been published.

As this publication goes to press, I was saddened to read in a letter of October 4, 1941, from Bishop H. Pakenham-Walsh, of the death in September of the coauthor of this work, the rescuer of the wolf-children, the Rev. J. A. L. Singh, in Midnapore on September 27, 1941, after a long attack of influenza beginning in June. The last-remaining, but most important link with Amala and Kamala, the wolf-children of Midnapore, is the devoted Mrs. J. A. L. Singh. He is also survived by a daughter in missionary work who, with Mrs. Singh, is carrying on the Orphanage under the greatest of financial difficulties because of the war. It is most inadequately supported by only the daughter's salary and the proceeds of this and other publications of this strange story. It is hoped that this publication will result in gifts from interested persons being sent to Mrs. Singh, "The Orphanage," Midnapore, India.

THE DIARY OF THE WOLF-CHILDREN
OF MIDNAPORE (INDIA)

by

The Reverend J. A. L. Singh
Missionary, S.P.G. Mission and the Rector
The Orphanage, Midnapore
Midnapore, India

CHAPTER I

We, on our missionary tours, went through the thickest portion of the jungle area of the Midnapore district and encroached upon the Morbhanj Raj territory in search of human habitations.

On one of these tours we came upon a village named Godamuri on the borderland between Midnapore and Morbhanj. We took shelter in a man's cowshed in the village. The man's name was Chunarem and he was Kora¹ by race (one of the aboriginal tribes in India). At night the man came to us and reported in great fear about a man-ghost in the jungle close by. The *Manush-Bagha* (man-ghost) was like a man in his limbs with a hideous head of a ghost.² On inquiry, he told me that it could be seen at dusk. The spot he cited was about seven miles from the village. He and his wife begged me to rid the place of it, as they were mortally frightened of it.

¹ See footnote 1 on p. xxv.

² How long had the "man-ghost" in Godamuri been observed? Recently? or for a longer period? (Dr. Wilton M. Krogman)

The man-ghost had been seen by people at a great distance in the thickest portion of the jungle, but not near the village of Godamuri. The people did not pay heed to it as it was far off and they actually took it to be some superhuman being. The villagers one and all are ghost worshipers and whenever they saw any unusual thing or being they used to offer their Pujas to propitiate the displeasure of such ghost and became hopeful that the ghost would not harm them. They would always repeat the Pujas whenever the ghost would appear again. In this way they went on. This was going on for a pretty long time and it was usual for them in the jungle then as it is now. If they found anything unearthly they would give Pujas and be satisfied that the ghost was propitiated and would not do them any harm. This particular man-ghost was similarly seen, worshiped, and forgotten, for a very very long time but they could not give me a correct idea of time as these aborigines have none. So, I conjectured that it was for two or three years past because they gave me the time by the seasons of the year. But about three or four months before my arrival the man-ghost frequented in the vicinity of the village of Godamuri and the villagers took alarm. At first for several times they gave Pujas to propitiate the ghost and to drive it away in this fashion, but they failed, and the appearance of the ghost commenced to be more frequent, and they became quite hopeless. Just at this time I happened to be there and learnt the things already written in the Diary. (Rev. J. A. L. Singh)

WOLF-CHILDREN AND FERAL MAN

September 24, 1920

I got curious and wanted to see the ghost. We went out a little before dusk on Friday, September 24, 1920, but failed to see any sign of it. I thought it was all false, and did not care much. The second time the same story was repeated to me with great alarm and anxiety. They were so afraid that they wanted to abandon the place if nothing was done to remove the ghost from the area.

I thought of a plan and advised them accordingly. I pointed out to them a big tree in the vicinity, about one hundred yards or so from the place where the ghost was supposed to have lived. I asked them to prepare a shooting *machān* (a high platform from which one can shoot wild animals) in that tree, so that we could board the *machān* and secretly see the ghost when it came out from the den.

After coming back I borrowed a field glass from Mr. Rose of Khargpur (a railway colony) on October 3, 1920, Sunday, and started for the Morbhanj border on October 5, with Messrs. P. Rose, Henry Richards, Janu Tudu, and Karan Hansda, Janu Tudu being our pilot in the jungle.

October 8 and 9, 1920

We arrived at Godamuri on October 8 and stayed there with Chunarem. Early in the morning on the 9th we went out to see the *machān* and examined the haunts of the so-called ghost.

It was a white-ant mound³ as high as a two-storied building, rising from the ground in the shape of a Hindu temple. Round about, there were seven holes, afterwards found to be seven tunnels leading to the main hollow at the bottom of the mound.⁴ There was a bypath near the

³ Large mounds formed by the white-ants, or termites, are found in many parts of India and other tropical countries. (R. R. Gates)

⁴ How often do wolves den in deserted ant-mounds? Are the tunnels the work of wolves? Do they hollow out a central den? (Dr. Wilton M. Krogman)

This was the only white-ant mound known to be lived in by the wolves. This was the thickest portion of the jungle and by the edge of this jungle there used to be the pathway by which the aborigines from Godamuri and other adjoining villages used to get into and come out of the jungle. The frequent appearance of the ghost, near about the village of the Godamuri, caused them anxiety to find out the whereabouts of this ghost. All of a sudden one day they saw the wolves and the ghosts together and they gradually came to know they lived in the particular white-ant mound. These holes were afterwards found to be the passages leading to the central den underneath the mound. It is generally seen that these white-ant mounds are raised by the white ants in the shape of a big Hindu temple on the center, and round about the big central mound there are raised smaller ones. All these are kept repaired as long as the white ants live in them, but when they go away the whole mound is left at the mercy of the natural forces of the seasons, the rain and storm. During rains the smaller ones are washed away, being thinner and somewhat soft,

white-ant mound. The villagers used to pass by it, going into and out of the jungle for fuel, charcoal, and leaves, which they sold in the *Hāt* (fair), after their work in the fields was over, and also after they had collected their harvest. It so happened that at times in the early morning, and sometimes at dusk, they came across these hideous-looking beings. They left that bypath altogether, through fear of molestation, and were living in a terrible fear, so much so that they were on the brink of leaving that area to go away to some other place. When they found us, they thought that by the help of our guns we could kill the ghost, and so put an end to all their fears.

October 9, 1920

The same Saturday, October 9, 1920, evening, long before dusk, at about 4:30 or 5:00 p.m., we stealthily boarded the machān and anxiously waited there for an hour or so. All of a sudden, a grown-up wolf⁵ came out from one of the holes, which was very smooth on account of their constant egress and ingress. This animal was followed by another one of the same size and kind. The second one was followed by a third, closely followed by two cubs one after the other. The holes did not permit two together.

Close after the cubs came the ghost—a hideous-looking being—hand, foot, and body like a human being; but the head was a big ball of something covering the shoulders and the upper portion of the bust, leaving only a sharp contour of the face visible, and it was human. Close at its heels there came another awful creature exactly like the first, but smaller in size. Their eyes were bright and piercing, unlike human eyes. I at once came to the conclusion that these were human beings.

leaving holes in the ground which lead into the central den underneath the mound. These holes or tunnels were made by the ants in the process of raising the smaller ones round about the big central mound. The central den and the holes were not the work of the wolves, but of the white ants in the process of building the mound. The wolves, of course, to suit their habitation had to scratch out earth in the den itself, and this earth was thrown into the uneven parts in the den to give them a smooth bottom to live in. These holes round about the central den were turned into passages by the wolves, as noticed. (Rev. J. A. L. Singh)

⁵ The common wolf, *Canis lupus*, extends over most of Europe, Asia, and North America. It has been divided into various species, but they are regarded by some as merely local geographic varieties. The wolf enters the northwest corner of India, but in the peninsula is found only *Canis Pallipes*, a more jackal-like animal which is intermediate between a jackal and a true wolf. It was evidently this animal that nurtured the wolf-children. (R. R. Gates)

The first ghost appeared on the ground up to its bust, and placing its elbows on the edge of the hole looked this side and that side, and jumped out. It looked all round the place from the mouth of the hole before it leaped out to follow the cubs. It was followed by another tiny ghost of the same kind, behaving in the same manner. Both of them ran on all fours.⁶

My friends at once leveled their guns to shoot at the ghosts. They would have killed them if they had not been dissuaded by me. I held their barrels and presented the field glass to Messrs. Rose and Richards and told them that I was sure that these ghosts were human children. Seeing through the field glass, all present on the machān agreed with me, except Chunarem. He still maintained that they were not human beings, but Manush-Baghas. We all disagreed with Chunarem and descended from the machān. It was about 8:00 p.m. when we reached our shelter at Chuna's cowshed.

October 10, 1920

We again sighted the ghosts and wolves the next day, October 10, 1920.

After dinner the same night we called Chuna and told him that we desired to dig the white-ant mound the next day to get those children, and take hold of them if possible. We asked him to help us with some men to dig out the place for us, and we would pay them handsomely. But he flatly refused, saying, "No, sirs, we cannot do that. You are all here only for a day, but we have to live here. When you all go away these Manush-Baghas will play havoc with us and would kill us all."⁷ We absolutely failed to make him agree with our views. However, we did not press the matter further, because I knew what to do, and so I dropped the subject altogether. We left Godamuri on the eleventh of October, 1920.

⁶ How did they "run" on "all fours"? Were hands palms down? Was progression by leaping? (Dr. Wilton M. Krogman)

They ran on all fours, placing the palms of both the hands flat on the ground. This was always the case even when crawling on the hands and the knees. The palms of the hands were always down. When running on all fours very fast like a squirrel the progression was not clearly evident on the back. The progress was in this fashion: At first the left hand was raised and placed on the ground and immediately the right foot was similarly raised and placed on the ground, and then the right hand and immediately the left foot were raised and placed. In this way it was noticed that whenever any hand or foot was raised in progression the arm blade or the thigh blade, respectively, was depressed a little, but when running fast nothing could be seen. I cannot say that the progression was by leaping, but it was a motion of the whole body in a mass while running very fast. (Rev. J. A. L. Singh)

⁷ All aboriginal peoples are highly superstitious. (R. R. Gates)

October 11, 1920

I arranged with my friends to leave the spot that night and go to a distant village onward, and to secure some men who did not know anything about our findings. They all agreed, and we started on our tour. We came to a distant village near about Tpuban. The people there did not know anything about the ghosts. Here I spoke to the villagers to do a job for us in the jungle by cutting for us an opening like a temple door in one of the white-ant mounds. I promised them their daily wages and tip money for the work. They agreed and we started back the day following, straight to the haunt of the wolves. None of us told them anything with regard to the ghosts living therein.

The white-ant mound in the jungle was about seven miles away from the village Godamuri. We brought the men straight to the spot; half of us boarded the machān, but I remained with them to instruct them to cut out a door in the particular white-ant mound on the seventeenth of October, 1920, Sunday, at about 9:00 a.m. I took the whole responsibility on myself, remaining with the men on the ground. I distinctly told my friends not to fire at any cost.

October 17, 1920

After a few strokes of the spade and shovel, one of the wolves came out hurriedly and ran for his life into the jungle. The second one appeared quickly, frightened for his life, and followed the footsteps of the former. A third appeared. It shot out like lightning on the surface of the plain and made for the diggers. It flew in again. Out it came instantly to chase the diggers—howling, racing about restlessly, scratching the ground furiously, and gnashing its teeth. It would not budge out of the place.

I had a great mind to capture it, because I guessed from its whole bearing on the spot that it must have been the mother wolf, whose nature was so ferocious and affection so sublime. It struck me with wonder. I was simply amazed to think that an animal had such a noble feeling surpassing even that of mankind—the highest form of creation—to bestow all the love and affection of a fond and ideal mother on these peculiar beings, which surely once had been brought in by her (or by the other two grown-up wolves who appeared before her) as food for the cubs. Whoever these peculiar beings, and whatever they might be, certainly they were not their cubs, but had originally been brought as food for the cubs. To permit them to live and to be nurtured by them (wolves) in this fashion is divine. I failed to realise the import of the circumstances and became

dumb and inert. In the meantime, the men pierced her through with arrows, and she fell dead. A terrible sight! ⁸

After the mother wolf was killed, it was an easy job. When the door was cut out, the whole temple fell all round, very fortunately leaving the central cave open to the sky, without disturbing the hollow inside. The cave was a hollow in the shape of the bottom of a kettle. It was plain and smooth, as if cemented. The place was so neat that not even a piece of bone was visible anywhere, much less any evidence of their droppings and other uncleanness. The cave had a peculiar smell, peculiar to the wolves—that was all.

There had lived the wolf family. The two cubs and the other two hideous beings were there in one corner, all four clutching together in a monkey-ball.⁹ It was really a task to separate them from one another. The ghosts were more ferocious than the cubs, making faces, showing teeth, making for us when too much disturbed, and running back to reform the monkey-ball. We were at a loss and did not know what to do.

I thought of a device. I collected four big sheets from the men, called in that region *Gilap* (the villagers' winter wrapper). I threw one of the sheets on this ball of children and cubs and separated one from the other. In this manner we separated all of them, each one tied up in a sheet, leaving only the head free. We gave away the cubs to the diggers and paid them their wages. They went away happy and sold the cubs in the Hât for a good price.

I took charge of the two human children, and came back to Chuna's house in Godamuri. I requested him to keep an eye on these children. I kept them in one corner of his courtyard in a barricade, made of long *sal*¹⁰ poles, not permitting the inmates to come out. The area of the barricade was eight feet by eight feet. There were two small earthen pots for rice and water placed on the side of the barricade, so that the keepers

⁸ Why "anthropomorphize" the female wolf? (Dr. Wilton M. Krogman) (Note by Zingg) Dr. Krogman raises an interesting point. But Rev. isn't "anthropomorphizing" the female wolf. But the she-wolf may likely have been anthropomorphized by its anthropoid (human) suckling. She might easily have become tolerant of human beings and even tamed. This work gives a case of the loss of fear of humans by wild wolves which entered a camp where there was a wolf-child with which they played. (See p. 152, fn. 15.)

It was not really "anthropomorphizing" the female wolf, but I was so charmed at all that I saw that I wanted to catch her and take her alive at the time. I had no idea what I could do with her. (Rev. J. A. L. Singh)

⁹ Monkey-ball: the habit of monkeys of clinging together in a mass under some circumstances. (R. R. Gates)

¹⁰ Sal tree. *Shorea robusta*, a large tree forming extensive forests in various parts of India, and now also grown extensively for its valuable timber. (R. R. Gates)

could pour in their food and drink from outside. Chuna agreed to keep them until my return.

October 18, 1920

I left Godamuri on the eighteenth of October, Monday, and went away to complete my tour program. My friends returned to Khargpur. It took me five days to return to Godamuri.

October 23, 1920

I returned on Saturday, the twenty-third of October. On my way back, when I approached near Godamuri, I was told of the miserable condition of the children. They had been left to themselves without any food or drink. For Ghosts to be living in Chuna's courtyard was more than enough to create a panic in him and the family. They had left the place in hot haste, just after we had left, and gone away to a place no one knew. The panic was so great that it depopulated the whole village.

I found the situation very grave, but did not wait or indulge in that thought for long, but made for the barricade at once, broke open the sal props, and found the poor children lying in their own mess, panting for breath through hunger, thirst, and fright. I really mourned for them, and actually wept for my negligence. I sprinkled cold water on their faces. They opened their mouths; I poured water in and they drank. I took them up in my arms one by one and carried them to the bullock cart.¹¹ I tried to make them drink some hot tea.

The feeding was a problem. They would not receive anything into their mouths. I tried by spyhon action. I tore up my handkerchief and rolled it up to a wick. I dipped it in the tea cup; and when it was well soaked, I put one end into their mouth and the other end remained in the cup. To my great surprise, I found them sucking the wick like a baby. I thanked God most fervently for the great kindness in forgiving me my negligence in leaving the children under such a care. I thanked God doubly and many a time after this.

I stayed at Godamuri for a few days to tend and nurse the children to fit them to take the journey in a bullock cart, in which there is a good bit of jolting in the way for seventy-five miles to reach Midnapore. I kept them on raw milk only, and they improved beyond recognition. When I

¹¹ Bullock cart. Seen everywhere throughout India. (R. R. Gates) (The peasants take their produce to market in this way, often traveling with a number of carts together, especially at night, when it is cooler.)

found them in a fit condition of health to be able to stand the journey, I prepared myself to start off.

October 28, 1920, to November 4, 1920

I left Godamuri on Thursday, the twenty-eighth of October, and reached Midnapore on Thursday, the fourth of November, 1920, and did not tell anything to anyone except my wife. We were delayed on the way, halting at different places to give them rest. They bore the journey splendidly. We reached the Orphanage safely, and thanked God for their rescue and for saving them. They were admitted into the Orphanage the same day we arrived. They were accepted simply as the neglected children. They were so weak and emaciated that they could not move about, so no one could suspect anything with regard to their extraordinary history. I took my wife into confidence and told her the whole fact of the discovery of the children, requesting her very strongly not to tell anyone, or disclose the fact in any way. I thank her that she kept her promise splendidly.

CHAPTER II

November 24, 1920

AFTER a few days when they became stronger and able to stand bathing, on Wednesday, the twenty-fourth of November, 1920, we cut off the matted balls of hair from their heads, and they looked very different. Their age was guessed by me—the elder about eight years and the younger about a year and a half.¹ We named the elder Kamala, and the younger Amala.

When I first saw them in the jungle, Kamala and Amala were very healthy and robust. But when I saw them on the twenty-third of October inside the stockade their health had deteriorated immensely due to their starvation. Before they recovered their former health, they were covered with a peculiar kind of sores all over the body. These sores ate up the big and extensive corns on the knee and on the palm of the hand near the wrist which had developed from walking on all fours. The sores had a

¹How was aging done? Is there a record of tooth eruption? Are there any X-rays for skeletal assessment? Are there measurements of body size and proportion? Would it be possible for us to examine the skeletons? (Dr. Wilton M. Krogman)

The aging was a mere guesswork of mine. I guessed her age as such and nothing more. This was done, at first, from the size and the look of the wolf-children.

There is no record of teeth eruption. It was noticed that Kamala had all the front teeth in both the upper and lower gums. Moreover it was noticed at the time that three gum teeth on each side in both lower and upper gums were visible leaving empty spaces on either side for other gum teeth to come out later on, and the other gum teeth two on each side in both upper and lower gums did appear later on during the time Kamala was with us in the Orphanage.

There is no X-ray of the skeleton. As I dared not expose them and their history of the rescue, nor is there any record of the measurement of the body or the limbs, as I did not think them necessary at the time. We simply wanted to rear them up as human children found in the jungle with the wolves. There was no thought of ever writing the Diary at first, till the publicity of the doctor roused the curiosity of the people and we were burdened with the continual string of visitors to see the wolf-children. One thing occurred to my mind that I should keep a diary of the daily improvement in everything as they stayed with us and grew. To all appearances the hands appeared to be somewhat longer than usual.

As there is no skeleton preserved with us it will not be possible to examine it. (Rev. J. A. L. Singh)

very fearful appearance and went deep into the flesh.² At times, they made them look like lepers. Besides attacking the knee and the palm, they extended to foot, elbow, and ankle. It was a dreadful sight to see them, as though they were nothing but lepers after all. Our medicines were car-



They were able to crawl

bolic soap, carbolic lotion, tincture of iodine, zinc and boric acids. My wife and myself used to wash the sores with carbolic lotion and carbolic soap and bandage them with boric cotton, and when the sores commenced forming granulations, we washed them with tincture of iodine

² Were the sores diagnosed as dermal (filth) or dietetic in origin? (Dr. Wilton M. Krogman)

The sores were not diagnosed as the whole history of their rescue was kept a secret. Most probably the sores were caused by the filth in which they had remained for several days after the rescue. (Rev. J. A. L. Singh)

lotion, wiped them dry, sprinkled them with boric and zinc acids, and bandaged them with cotton. We did everything ourselves and did not call a doctor through fear of exposure. To our great relief we found the sores forming granulations and becoming perfectly red in color. They took more than three weeks to heal up completely.

December 5, 1920

They got cured of the sores by the fifth of December, 1920. The children improved in health quickly, and became stronger day by day. I found them very fond of raw meat and raw milk. As mentioned before, they were kept on raw milk only. We could not give them anything else through fear lest they should get more ferocious and become unmanageable. They thrived well on that diet and vegetable food alone.³

December 19, 1920

On the nineteenth of December, 1920, we found them able to move about a little, crawling on feet and hands, but not on all fours like before.⁴ They could not stand erect, although we tried our utmost to make them do so. Gradually as they got stronger, they commenced going on all fours,⁵ and afterwards began to run on all fours. When their health improved, they would run very fast, just like squirrels, and it was really a business to overtake them.

On the twenty-first of December, 1920, we found them very much attached to one of the foundlings, Benjamin by name. He had been

³ Even the Christian missions are probably affected to some extent by the atmosphere of vegetarianism which is an essential part of the Hindu religion. (R. R. Gates)

On p. 11 raw milk, and on p. 15, meat and vegetables are mentioned; can specific vegetables be listed? Also are there any data available on the presumed diet while in the wolves' den? (Dr. Wilton M. Krogman)

No specific vegetable can be listed that they liked. They liked milk mostly and they had a great craving for raw meat. No data are available regarding the presumed diet while living with the wolves. (Rev. J. A. L. Singh)

⁴ What is the difference between crawling on feet and hands but not on all fours? (Dr. Wilton M. Krogman)

By crawling is meant when they used to go about on hands and knees. On all fours means when they used to run fast on hands and feet. Their mode of progression was very slow when crawling on hands and knees, but it was very quick and faster, like a squirrel, when on all fours. (Rev. J. A. L. Singh)

⁵ Children of civilized parents sometimes develop this habit. See Hrdlicka, A., *Children who run on all fours*. McGraw-Hill Book Co., London, 1931. Pp. 418, figs. 27.

He collected 387 cases of this kind, mostly of white children, but 18 belonged to various other races (American Indian, Eskimo, Negro, Australian aborigines, mestizo). The manifestation is evidently not uncommon and is usually confined to the first eighteen months. It is followed by perfectly normal development of the child. (R. R. Gates)

picked up from among the dry leaves in the jungle on Wednesday, the eighth of January, 1919, a child of five months or so, and admitted into the Orphanage on the twelfth of January the same year under the name of Puta. He had a mournful history. This child was about a year old. He was just learning to walk by crawling, like the infants before commencing to walk. The wolf-children and he used to associate together in the room and were very friendly. We thought that this mixing up was a very good way to improve their mode of movements, and also very helpful in the future of their progress in articulation and habits.

December 31, 1920

But unfortunately, all of a sudden one day, on the thirty-first of December, Benjamin was bitten and roughly scratched by the wolf-children. After this Benjamin never came into their company and always tried to avoid them altogether. He was terribly frightened of them.

It is presumed that when they found some difference and understood that he was quite different in nature from them,⁶ then they commenced to dislike him. After this when they fully came to know that he was not one of them, then they fought with him, which frightened him so much that he left their company altogether and never approached them afterwards.

⁶ How did Benjamin know he was "different in nature" from the wolf-children? (Dr. Wilton M. Krogman)

It is very difficult to answer this question. As far as it appears, the wolf-children took to Benjamin and tried to associate with him, finding him also crawling like themselves. For some time this went on, but all of a sudden one day they fell out with Benjamin and gave him a biting and scratching. Since that day Benjamin was scared and shunned their company. (Rev. J. A. L. Singh)

CHAPTER III

Aloofness

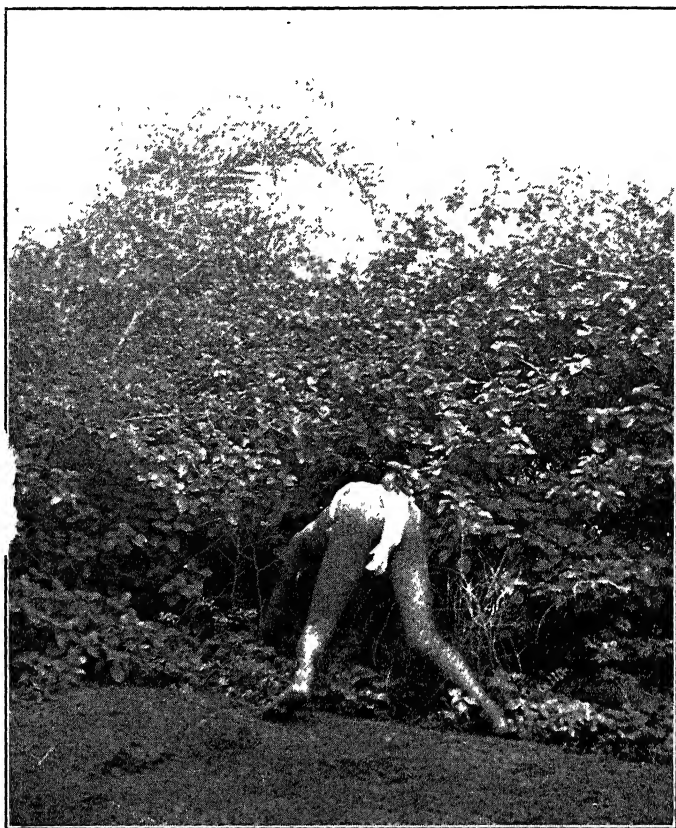
FROM the very beginning their aloofness was noticeable. They would crouch together in a corner of the room and sit there for hours on · facing the corner, as if meditating on some great problem. They were quite indifferent to all that was going on in the room. Their attention could not be drawn to anything. They sat there musing the whole day. If we tried at times to draw their attention to anything by touching and pointing to something, they simply bestowed a forced look at nothing, and would quickly turn their eyes again to the corner.

We never kept them alone, but always purposely kept a few Orphan children in the room for two reasons: first, to guard them, so that they might not run away; second, to associate them with the other children. The children would be playing, chattering, and moving about in the room, but those things did not interest them at all. They remained quite uninterested and indifferent.

Shyness or Fright

They were shy from the beginning. This shyness I counted for fright. After their rescue and subsequent capture, they were looking for the cubs and the wolves. It was noticeable that they wanted their company and association, but finding that they could not get them here, they refused to mix with the children or with anybody. They could not bear the sight of children at any time, and always tried to shun them. The presence of others in the room prevented them from doing anything, even moving their head from one direction to the other, or moving about a little, changing sides, or turning about. Even a look towards them was objectionable. They wanted to be all by themselves, and they shunned human society altogether. If we approached them, they made faces and sometimes

showed their teeth,¹ as if unwilling to permit our touch or company. This was noticed at all times, even at night.



Entering the Lantana bushes

January 29, 1921

Once on January 29, Saturday, when they wanted to get away, a girl, by name Roda, tried to prevent their escape. They gave her such a bite and scratched her so that she was compelled to leave them alone. They

¹ Presumably a conditioned reflex learned from contact with the wolves. Pavlov (*Conditioned Reflexes*, Oxford Press, 1927), showed that dogs could acquire all kinds of conditioned reflexes, e. g., they could be taught to associate food with the ringing of a bell. The sound of the bell would then produce salivation, just as if the food were actually present. (R. R. Gates)

ran out and entered the lantana bushes² outside the compound. They ran fast like squirrels and could not be overtaken. They crouched inside the thick bushes and could not be traced. We had to beat about the bushes for sign of them. It was really a task to search them out, because they remained noiseless there till they were discovered. Such was their nature to shun human association and human habitation. They were brought back home, but the same morose attitude prevailed.

Freedom

They were never shut up or chained, but were always placed under surveillance, having the Orphanage children as their guards. After Benjamin and Roda were bitten and scratched, no children ever tried to approach them at close quarters, although I noticed the younger children tried to please them in their own ways, which showed their love and affection towards these strange creatures. They tried their utmost to allure them to play with them, but this they resented very much, and would frighten them by opening their jaws, showing their teeth, and at times making for them with a peculiar harsh noise. So it became almost impossible for us to bring about any sort of social relationship between them and the children. Kamala and Amala never liked them.

November, 1920, to January, 1921

At this stage of their association with us, for nearly three months from the fourth of November, 1920, up to the end of January, 1921, there was a complete disassociation and dislike, not only for us, but for their abode among us, for movement and play—in short, for everything human.

They could not find here their mates in the jungle; they could not prowl about with the wolves; they missed their cosy den, and could not get to feed on meat or milk. Consequently, the thought of their old environment preyed heavily on their mind, and their thought was to regain their former habitation and company. This fact made them meditative and morose.

² *Lantana indica* Roxb. is a plant from the American tropics, which has spread widely throughout India and in many places has become a pest, scrambling over the other vegetation. *Argemone mexicana*, a member of the poppy family which is native to Mexico, can also be seen all over India, from the foothills of the Himalayas to Cape Cormorin. (R. R. Gates)

CHAPTER IV

The Change of Appearance: High Jawbones

AFTER cutting the hideous ball of hair, their appearance changed immensely. They looked human children again. But they had prominent differences in feature from ordinary children. The formation of jawbones was raised and high.¹ Before this they were covered up by the ball of hair and could not be seen. Like the modification of the hand and feet, the jaws also had undergone some sort of change in the chewing of bones and constant biting at the meat attached to the bone.² When they moved their jaws in chewing, the upper and lower jawbones appeared to part and close visibly, unlike human jaws.

Teeth

The formation of the teeth was close-set and uneven with very fine sharp edges. The four teeth in line with the eyes, i.e., the canines, were longer and more pointed than is common in humans. They were directly in line with the eyes. The color of the mouth inside was blood-red, not naturally found among men.

¹ What is meant by jawbones "raised and high"—an Asiatic trait? Upper and lower jaws in humans do not part and close visibly; canines above occlusal level (especially milk canines) are unknown in man. (Dr. Wilton M. Krogman)

Jawbones "raised and high" means that the end of the jawbone joint is projected much more than that of the human. It nearly came to a projected angle. It was Asiatic no doubt to all appearance but somewhat different. It might have been due to the constant gnawing of bones.

I cannot account for this parting of the jawbone. When they used to chew anything very hard such as bone this separation of the jawbone was very distinct. Such chewing caused visible hollows at both ends of the jawbones on both sides of the cheek. (Rev. J. A. L. Singh)

² Were the joints X-rayed to see possible arthritic changes due to dampness in the den, or was the joint enlargement traceable to disuse, or to dietetic imbalance? (Dr. Wilton M. Krogman)

The jawbones were not X-Rayed and hence this question cannot be answered with precision. (Rev. J. A. L. Singh)

Sitting or Standing

They could sit on the ground squatting down or in any other posture, but could not stand up at all. Their knee joints and hip joints would not close up or open out. The joints had lost the ability to make flexible movements. Those joints were big, raised, and heavy, covered with hard corns outside from walking on all fours.

Eyes

Their eyes were somewhat round and had the look as if heavy with sleep during day. But they were wide open at night after twelve o'clock. They had a peculiar blue glare, like that of a cat or dog, in the dark. At night when you saw the glare, you could not see anything round about them but the two blue powerful lights, not even the possessor of the eyes. You saw only two blue lights sending forth rays in the dark, making every other thing invisible beyond the focus curvature.³

³ What is meant by "glare" in the eyes? Human eyes, lacking a tapetum, do not "glare," i.e., refract light. Were the eyes ever studied by a competent ophthalmologist? (Dr. Wilton M. Krogman)

The phenomenon of "glare" is very difficult for me to explain. This was the phenomenon I noticed often at the beginning in both of their eyes and occasionally later on. I cannot account for it. I had consulted Dr. Sarbadhicari about it and he could not say anything. Moreover, it was not possible for me to take her out to Calcutta to have the eyes properly examined by an ophthalmologist, because I dreaded such publication of the rescue story outside the Orphanage where I could not have controlled the curious people. Besides, the thought never occurred to me that such an explanation would ever be asked.

The phenomenon of glare in the eyes was noticed in the following manner: The first day when they got a little better and were able to crawl about a little, it was noticed that a sort of blue light emitted from their eyes. The circumstances under which this phenomenon was noticed were these: So long as they were ill and afterwards, they could not bear the presence of any light in the sickroom where they were. Whenever any light was brought in they used to feel uneasy, which could be distinctly seen from their face and eyes. They used to close their eyes and turn round when they were able to do so, gaining a little strength after illness. So the light used to be kept at the door keeping them in the shade. They used to crawl into the darkest corner of the room to avoid even the faint light. On such occasions when we used to approach them in the room, we noticed that as soon as they turned towards us, the shape of the bodies used to disappear showing only two faint blue lights in proportion to the strength of the light thus emitting. We did not trouble ourselves; with the wolves they had acquired this power in their sight to see things in the dark like cats and dogs, and wild animals in the jungle, which I personally have seen in the jungle and in the house with the above-named domestic animals. (Rev. J. A. L. Singh)

This curious blue glare reported by the Rev. Singh from the eyes of the wolf-children is, in many ways, the most striking feature of the entire account, and one most apt to be controversial, since it appears as an amazing adjustment to the environment of a dark cave and nocturnal habits that the human eye should shine when it is not provided with a tapetum, as Prof. Krogman has pointed out, and the Rev. Singh reaffirmed.

At no other point was the checking of this manuscript more careful or thorough by the scientists who contributed the Forewords, and the undersigned. Again thanks to Prof. R. Ruggles Gates, we submit considerable other evidence that some human eyes do "glare" or

shine at night. This is suggested by E. P. Walker in his article "Eyes that Shine at Night" (*Ann. Report Smithsonian Inst.* pp. 349-361, Washington, 1939), who however was unable to verify reports of night-shining human eyes. There are recent reports in *Nature* ("Shining in Human Eyes," News and Views section, London, May 11, 1940, Volume 145, p. 737) of a shop assistant in Birmingham whose eyes have the peculiarity of glowing at night with a glow of a "deep-red color."

Night-shining eyes are reported for all races. From cave dwellers in India living a life something like that of the wolf-children in their den comes this report from *Nature* ("Night-Shining Eyes," Letters to the Editor, London, Sept. 14, 1940, Volume 146, p. 366) by E. A. Glennie, followed by a scientific explanation by J. Herbert Parsons. These data are as follows:

"Spelaeologists have perhaps rather exceptional opportunities for observing 'night-shining' in human eyes. I have seen it on three occasions with different individuals, and once was accused of exhibiting the phenomenon myself.

"On all occasions the observer was below the object and the illuminant was the concentrated beam of a focused electric torch. The glow from the eyes is a most uncanny tawny orange, causing exclamations of horror.

"Once only have I seen night-shining by a human outside a cave. An Indian woman, who was bending low down, looked back from that position at the headlights of my car—a momentary gleam from her eyes, which ceased as she stood up and faced the light. Hence the incidence of the light on the eyes on this occasion was similar to that on the previous occasions in caves. Is it possible that the normal individual only exhibits the phenomenon when, with dilated pupils, he is caught by a concentrated beam of light coming from this rather unusual direction?"

E. A. Glennie,
Regional Recorder (India)
British Spelaeological Association.

Dehra Dun, United Provinces, India.

"The explanation of 'night-shining eyes' is well known. The retina and choroid act as a mirror. In the emmetropic eye the light reflected from the fundus emerges in a parallel beam; hence none of it can enter an observer's eye unless this is placed in the comparatively narrow beam of light—the principle of the ophthalmoscope. In highly hypermetropic eyes the emergent beams are widely divergent, and therefore an observer's eye can see a reflex from the pupil over a considerable area. Glioma of the retina in a baby is usually discovered by the mother noticing a yellow reflex from the pupil, as the so-called 'amaurotic cat's eye.'

"The eyes of most lower mammals are usually highly hypermetropic, and many of them are provided with a special reflecting membrane, absent in man, the tapetum. This occurs in two forms, a fibrous and a cellular, sometimes provided with crystals. The tapetum causes iridescence in the reflected light—hence the variety of colours investigated by Mr. E. D. Walker (see *Nature*, March 30, p. 506)

"The rareness of the observation of 'night-shining' in human eyes is due to the facts that the observed eye must be highly hypermetropic (or still more rarely very highly myopic), the incident light must be bright, and the observing eye must be so placed that some of the reflected rays enter it."

J. Herbert Parsons.

This phenomenon has been observed among the Negro race as well as the Caucasian and Indian. I have the following letter from Winthrop A. Travell, Supervisor of Internal Revenue, Republic of Liberia, Monrovia. He writes:

"I spent about 5 years in Liberia from 1928 to 1933 and made numerous hinterland trips where the opportunity for observation was exceptionally good. In a native village at night where the only light is a lantern at your side or behind you, with a couple of hundred or more natives looking at you, any case of night-shining eyes is pretty sure to be

noticeable. . . . The first case of shining eyes which I saw was when I peered into the gloomy depths of a native hut into which the only light came through the daylighted doorway at my back. . . . His eyes were gray. . . . On three or four other occasions after that in different parts of the country I noticed night-shining eyes but never had an opportunity to make a detailed examination as they were in crowds of natives at night. . . ."

Mr. Ernest P. Walker, Assistant Director, National Zoological Park, reported a case to me from *Science Service*, which was given in their clip sheet for use Sept. 20-26, 1937. This reports that Prof. Theodore H. Hubbell, of the University of Florida at Gainesville, Florida, was shot in the face by a friend who saw his eyes shining. Professor Hubbell has written me the following letter of the full circumstances, which is made the more interesting and possibly significant in view of the extraordinary powers of night vision by which he can see small insects and other specimens in the dark. His letter follows:

University of Florida
Department of Biology
Gainesville, Florida
January 24, 1941

Professor Robert M. Zingg
Department of Ethnology
University of Denver
Denver, Colo.
Dear Professor Zingg:

On the night of July 4, 1937, while on an expedition from the Museum of Zoology of the University of Michigan to western Oklahoma, I was collecting with an electric headlight in the upper end of a small canyon on the slope of Black Mesa. Our party was composed of W. Frank Blair of the Laboratory of Mammalian Genetics of the University of Michigan, and his two brothers, besides myself. Blair was collecting mammals, his brothers reptiles and amphibians. Blair had set a line of small-mammal traps up the canyon from our camp at its mouth. I had put up a lighted sheet at one point, but wandered away from it, returning at intervals to see what I had caught. About 10:30 P.M. I heard a cricket singing that I had not previously taken, on the far side of the canyon from the sheet, so I began to stalk the insect. It was quite wary, and ceased singing when I was within about twenty feet, so, as is the usual procedure in such cases, I turned off my light, sat down on a rock, and resigned myself to a wait of anywhere from a few minutes to half an hour or so before it should resume singing.

While sitting still in the dark, I noticed Blair coming up the canyon with his headlight on—all I could see, of course, was the light which turned this way and that way. I assumed, as was correct, that Blair was running his trap line, and idly watched him. I noticed that he frequently turned his light toward me, but thought nothing of it. I assumed that I was completely invisible. Finally, when he was about forty feet away, or perhaps sixty, his light turned full on me, and I thought he had seen me and was about to speak, when his shotgun blazed out in my face. I had just reached into my pocket for a cigarette when this occurred, and to this accident probably owe my sight or perhaps my life, for he is an excellent shot, and was aiming straight at my eyes. As it was I got about 15 shot in my face, neck, ear, and hand, which was raised and holding the cigarette—I suspect I pulled my head slightly out of line, for the bulk of the charge went by just over my shoulder. I was rushed back to camp and to Tulsa, and after some months was as good as ever, though one shot grazed my right eye and went into the ganglionic mass back of the socket, giving me partial paralysis of that side of my face for a time.

Blair said that he noticed my eyes shining from far down the canyon, with a deep-red glare, and that he had intentionally stalked me, thinking it was perhaps a mountain lion. He was using a three-cell Winchester headlight, and the accident would not have occurred had I not been absently following his light with my eyes. Perhaps by writing him you might get him to describe the appearance, since he saw it and I did not. Since then I have been tried out by other people, and sometimes my eyes shine considerably, sometimes dully,

Glare—December 20, 1920

I was suddenly struck by this phenomenon on the twentieth of December, 1920, when they were just beginning to crawl. This emission of the glare was generally at night in the dark, and not visible at all when an light was brought in. They could see better at night than by day.

Sense of Sight in the Dark—January 3, 1921

On the third of January, 1921, it was found that on a very dark night where human vision and activity fails utterly, they could travel easily over an uneven terrain. They could detect the existence of a man, child, animal, or bird, or any other object in the darkest place when and where human sight fails completely.

Nose

They had flat noses with big round nostrils like the aboriginals;⁴ but

and sometimes scarcely at all. It is possible that the fact that I had been collecting in the dark all summer, with and without a headlight, might have had something to do with the brilliancy of the reflection on this occasion. I have also observed that when collecting with others at night I have an unusual ability to see small insects and other specimens, but whether this indicates unusually good adaptation for vision in dim light, and something like a tapetum in my eyes, or, as I think more likely, is simply the result of experience and good eyesight, is a question that I cannot answer.

All that I can say for certain is that there is not the slightest doubt that on this particular occasion my eyes were sufficiently luminous in the light from the headlight to have attracted attention from a distance of something slightly under a quarter of a mile and that at fairly close range they were bright, though nothing of the rest of my body could be seen by Blair.

Trusting that this information may be of some value in your investigations, I am

Yours sincerely,

(sgd.) Theodore H. Hubbell
Acting Head of Department of
Biology.

Professor Hubbell's extraordinary night vision in the ability to see insects and other small game at night has another significance in relation not only to the night-shining eyes of the wolf-children of Midnapore and several others; but also to the extraordinary vision without night-shining, of the case very analogous to a feral one of Kaspar Hauser—a ability which some students have thought exaggerated in the accounts of Feuerbach and others (see p. 368 ff.).

⁴ Was any attempt made to trace the children's tribal affinities? The description of bushy hair, flat noses, and thick lips sounds Dravidic (Hill tribes). (Dr. Wilton M. Krogman)

Yes, attempts were repeatedly made to find out and trace out the genealogy of these and suchlike abandoned children in the villages. One thing is concluded from such investigation that they belonged to the aboriginal tribes. The features bespeak of this assumption and we became convinced that these were the children of the wild jungle people whom the wolves must have carried away or have found them thus thrown out to the fate for some reason or other in the jungle to get rid of them. (Rev. J. A. L. Singh)

unlike them, however, in that they moved the fleshy wings of the nostrils, extending and contracting them while sniffing or inhaling some smell. The nostrils did not touch the lips, but remained at the same distance from the edge of the lips as usual. But the openings were much larger than ordinarily found in men.

Excitement

At the time of any excitement the nostrils pumped out breath with a harsh noise.

September 15, 1922

They had a powerful instinct and could smell meat or anything from a great distance like animals. On the fifteenth of September, 1922, Kamala smelled meat from a distance of seventy yards and ran quickly to the



Kamala eating the entrails of a fowl

kitchen veranda, where meat was being dressed. With a ferocious look, she tried to grab it, her eyes rolling, jaws moving from side to side, and teeth chattering while she made a fearful growling sound, neither human or animal.

September 18, 1922

Kamala's instinct led her, on September 18, 1922, to locate the entrails of a fowl thrown outside the compound, about eighty yards from the Orphanage dormitory, where she was caught red-handed eating them. Whenever they smelled anything, and if they wanted to make sure of the object, animal, or man, they used to raise their noses to the air and try to smell its direction by sniffing in the air. When any food was given them, they used to smell it always before eating it.⁵

Ears and Hearing

They had big flat ears. Their ears used to shake or tremble at the time of excitement, and they changed color. They possessed a strong power of hearing and could easily hear the lightest footsteps or any action, as the occasion demanded. The least sound drew their attention.

Lips and Teeth—December 31, 1920, and January 29, 1921

The lips were thick and the mouth wide. When the lips parted, a set of white teeth were visible. It was noticed that the lips trembled at times of rage and fear. This was distinctly noticed on the thirty-first of December, 1920, when Benjamin was bitten and scratched, as well as on January 29, 1921, when Roda suffered the same treatment by the wolf-children.

Cheeks

Their cheeks were full and fleshy. The cheekbones were raised out of proportion, projecting outside like cones.

Chin

Kamala's chin was rounded, but Amala's was a little pointed. It was in sharp outline with the contour of the face.

Contour of face

Kamala's contour was round, and that of Amala was a bit oval.

⁵ Another conditioned response learned from the wolves. (R. R. Gates)

Forehead

Their foreheads were narrow and full of wrinkles.

Brow

Their brows were bushy and long.

Expression

The expression of their faces was bright and pleasant. Kamala's face was ever smiling and full of softness which quickly changed into ferocity at the least excitement of rage or fear.

Touch

They had a very sensitive skin. The least touch would make them feel and they would become conscious of it.

Neck

Their necks were short and muscular, standing on broad shoulders.

Hand and Foot

The hands and arms were long, almost reaching to the knees;⁶ being muscular and well built, the arms and hands spoke of strength and agility. In proportion to the length of the arm, the hands, from wrist to the fore-fingers, were longer than is normal in human beings. But they were human hands, pure and simple.

The elbow joints and wrists were also big, heavy, flexible, and powerful.

Nails

The nails of the hand and foot were worn on the inside to a concave shape. This was due to scratching the ground with the fingers; the concavity of the toenails was due to sauntering on the ground while going on their knees, although they generally went on all fours.

Their feet were of a peculiar shape. The fingers and the toes were extended and lying flat on the ground, but were somewhat crooked, being bent up in an angle. The two great toes were longer than is generally

⁶ How can we be sure of the limb proportions? Are measurements available? (Dr. Wilton M. Krogman)

I am sorry to say that this idea never occurred to me to record the measurement of the limbs and the body although it was very easy. Only things that appeared to be unusual or somewhat different have been mentioned in the Diary in writing it out. The hands appeared to be somewhat longer than usual human hands of that age and size and that is stated in the case of Kamala. (Rev. J. A. L. Singh)

found among humans and were somewhat crooked, making an angle when placed flat on the ground. They were not crooked sideways,⁷ but the angle stood, like a tent, upwards, as shown by the sketch:

The toes were connected to a comparatively thin sole and foot, ending in a flattened heel, holding up a big ball-like ankle joint. The knee joints were proportionately big, heavy, and strong.

Hips and Waists

The hips were flattened to the waist and were not at all fleshy. Their waists were slender and flexible from side to side, being well built, and in straight line with the spine.

Head

Their heads were elongated, slender, bony, and drawn upwards. From the front the eyes appeared to be set in two hollows. The thin, long nose, ending in two big nostrils, descended to a pair of lips thick and long. The chin hung to a point underneath.

Body

The build of the body spoke of strength and agility.

⁷ Were the feet studied to note opposability of the big toe? (Dr. Wilton M. Krogman)

Sorry, it was not done, thinking that the feet and toes were shaped in the fashion to accommodate their habits and locomotion in their lives with the wolves. (Rev. J. A. L. Singh)

CHAPTER V

The Mode of Eating—November 15, 1920

THEY used to eat or drink like dogs from the plate, lowering their mouths down to the plate.¹ Solid food, such as rice, meat, etc., was eaten in this way, not with the hand. Liquid food, such as water or milk, they used to lap like puppies. This was noticed first on the fifteenth of November, 1920.



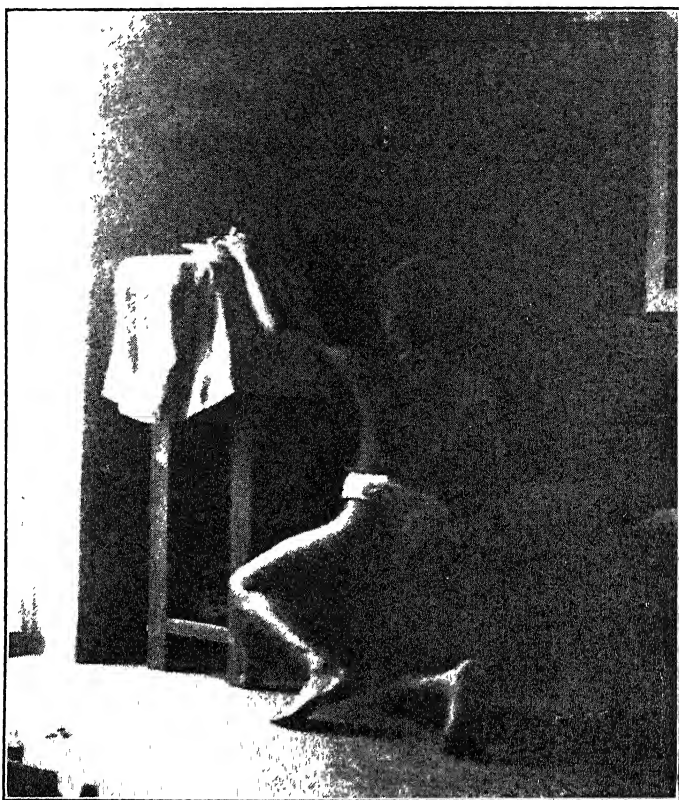
Kamala's mode of eating by lapping food

¹ The methods of eating were conditioned reflexes learned from the wolves. (R. R. Gates)

when they could sit a little and crawl about a little, before they were wholly cured of the sores.

November 19, 1920

When they were hungry they would come smelling to the place where food was kept and sit there. This was noticed on the above date. They



Standing on knees to reach the utensil containing milk

would sit there for some time, and if they did not get any food, they would go and come again immediately. This they repeated till they got something to eat or drink.

December 7, 1920

When they got better, they would stand on their knees and try to reach

the utensil which contained the food or drink. This was noticed on the above date as soon as they got stronger.

February 2, 1921

Afterwards, when they got a bit tame and somewhat familiar with my wife, they used to come to her, not close to her, but in the same room where she happened to be, till they were given food or drink by her. This was noticed on the second of February, 1921.

February 5, 1921

¹ The least smell of food or meat anywhere, even a dead animal or a bird, would bring them to the spot at once. They would at once make for the place and pounce upon it, and then devour it, not permitting anyone to obstruct them. They showed great rage, and would not part with it. If the food was caught hold of or snatched away, they would take a good bite out of it, a mouthful at any rate.² This behavior was noticed on the above date.

Mrs. Singh happened to be their nurse, and she used to feed them during illness and afterwards. Naturally they would expect food from her. This knowledge and the fulfillment of their expectation every time led them to have some sort of attachment later on.³

When they were thirsty the younger one made a peculiar noise, "Bhoo, Bhoo," and Mrs. Singh understood that she wanted water; but Kamala would lick her lips with her tongue in a peculiar fashion as if her lips were getting dry, and she knew that Kamala was thirsty.

December 12, 1920

It was first noticed on this date that Kamala did not make any noise like Amala while thirsty. They did not care for water much as drink, but always preferred milk.

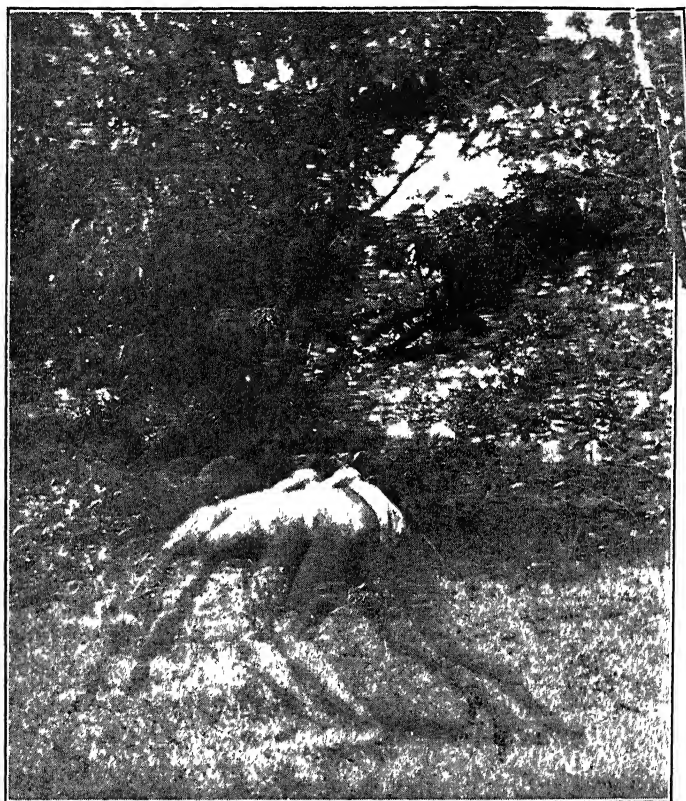
Mode of Walking and Running

Kamala and Amala could not walk like humans. They went on all fours: head erect on the broad shoulders, the body straight, resting on the hip joints; the thigh making an obtuse angle with the leg at the knee and the leg resting on the raised heel; and the front part of the foot resting on

² The complete change from a raw meat diet to a vegetarian one probably made them more ravenous for flesh. (R. R. Gates)

³ They were building up fresh conditioned reflexes. (R. R. Gates)

the ground with the toes spread out to support the whole weight of the body. The front part of the body rested on the straightened hand, supported by the spread-out palm and fingers on the ground.⁴



Mode when running very fast

There was a constant jerk as they moved in this fashion, the risings and the sinkings, first the head and then the waist, as they moved along whether slowly or quickly.

Besides, when they moved slowly, generally they went on hands and

⁴Did the all-four progression really involve palms flat? (Dr. Wilton M. Krogman)

Yes, when running on all fours and also while crawling the palms used to be always flat, spread out on the ground. The fingers from the palms used to be opened out and extended, not at all closed into a fist. (Rev. J. A. L. Singh)

knees, but could not run fast. On all fours, they could run very fast, and it was really a task to overtake them.

Mode of Sleeping

Both Kamala and Amala used to sleep like little pigs or dog pups, overlapping one another. When they laid themselves down on the ground, they usually slept crouching, their hands and feet together, whether sitting or reclining. They were light sleepers; the least noise startled them. They never slept after midnight and used to love to prowl at night fearlessly,⁵ unlike human children of that age.

February 19, 1921

They were seen restlessly patrolling the court yard, incessantly trying to find an opening to give them a passage out.

Feeling of Cold or Heat

The perception of cold or heat was unknown to them.⁶ In cold in winter we used to make them wear clothing, but they resented it very much and used to tear it to pieces as soon as they were left alone. We tried to cover them up with blankets at night, but they threw them away, and if repeated, they used to tear them off. They did not feel cold at all, and used to love to be without any covering or clothing on their body, even in the coldest weather. They were never seen shivering in the most chilly season, nor perspiring in the hottest day or night.

Loin Cloth Stitched on—November 10, 1920

We were compelled to permit them to be naked all the while, except a loin cloth stitched behind them in such a fashion that they could not open it out. They unwillingly kept it on because they could not open it, but they resented it very much at first. They were seen always busy with it trying to set themselves free from it.

When we used to present them before visitors, we would always throw a loose garment, such as a loose frock, on them and bring them out into the drawing room.

During the hottest summer day, on the fifteenth of June, 1920, and afterwards whenever they felt warm, they used to choose a cold corner in the room and occupy it all the while during the day. When all others used to

⁵ Another conditioned reflex from their experience with wolves. (R. R. Gates)

⁶ This is reported of many feral cases.

be wet with perspiration, they used to be as dry as ever. Even in hot summer when we would be drinking much water to satisfy our thirst, they did not become thirsty at all. They used to drink the same quantity of water or milk in summer as in winter. Their chief drink was milk, and not so much of water. In summer their body used to be cold and pleasant to feel. The surface of their bodies was very smooth and even, and very soft. It was not at all rough or hard, nor was it at all greasy or oily, and was free from any dirt.

They used to come out with us naked, except the loin cloth, in the bitter cold morning in winter, and never shivered or showed any sign of feeling cold.

Fire they knew and would not go near it. They did not like it, and were rather afraid to see the flame or the crimson scorching glow of coals that are alive, diffusing warmth to the surroundings. They ran into the shade behind the bushes and shrubs where there was no light at all.

This behavior was repeatedly seen on the twenty-fourth and thirty-first of December, 1921, and on the first of January, 1922.

CHAPTER VI

Vision and Darkness

THEY were fond of darkness, and all the year round liked to be in the darkest place in their dormitory. As I said before, they would turn their face towards the corner and would remain musing for hours together like philosophers contemplating a great problem, never caring for the things around them. They would not leave that corner till it was dusk. We used to take them out to their dining room. Besides this, whenever they used to feel hungry, they used to come out themselves for a short time to the place where they came to know that food was kept. They could not bear much sunshine. If kept in the sun for a short time, they would commence panting, or breathing harder and harder, and would try to run into their selected dark corner.

March 15, 1921

Their inability to bear the sun was noticed on the fifteenth of March, 1921.

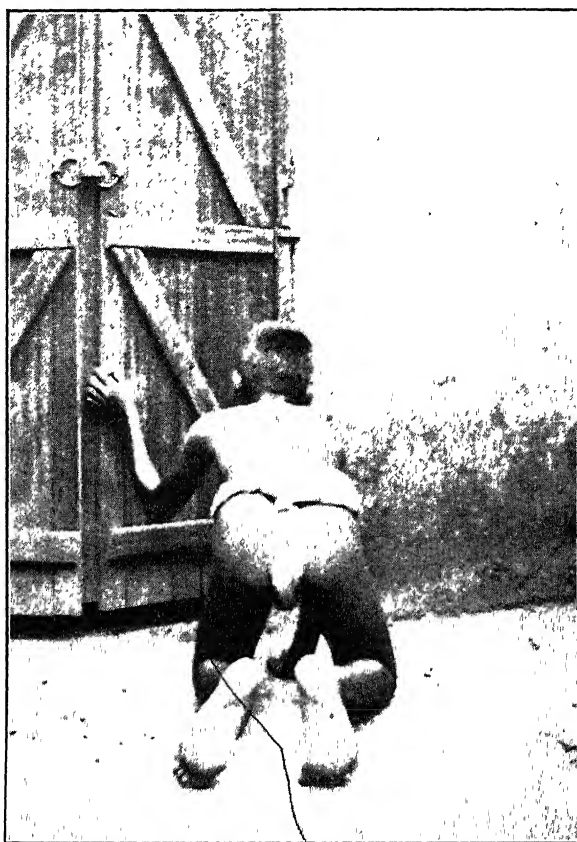
It was also noticed that they could not see well during the day when the hot sun was shining. They could not open their eyes fully, and would be opening and closing their eyes quickly and often. If we insisted on keeping them in the sun, they used to close their eyes and try to run away from the sun as quickly as they could. An experiment was made on March 2, 1921, at about one o'clock. Bones were placed in front of them one after the other. They smelled them all right, but could not find the bones as easily as they could in a shady place, or at night.

At night they wanted to be out, and if possible to be out in the open field, or in the jungle. As I said before, they could see far better at night, and a blue glare focused on things or animals.

Light also used to frighten them at the very beginning. The first few days I took charge of them, and also at the Orphanage for a few days after their admission into it, they used to try to hide themselves whenever a hurricane lantern was brought in the room.

October 23, 1920

The first time I noticed their fear of light was on the night of the above date. I could not even light a match in their presence. Though they were weak and could not move, yet they showed signs of fear in their appearance and the little they could express in their features.



Scratching at the door to get out when restless to go out

Bright scenery, like red-colored sky just before dusk, they loved. At 5:30 p.m. they showed signs of restlessness to come out in the open. The only thing they wanted was to be left all by themselves. This was noticed the first day they could crawl out.

December 2, 1920

On this date they first crawled out after their sores were almost healed.

After sunrise they would not like to be out in the open; they must try and hide themselves. If not in the room, they must find some creek or corner; and if they happened to be in the field, they would seek for some bush or shrub close by. This was seen the first day I and Mrs. Singh took them out to the field early in the morning, when it was still dark at four o'clock, on December 4, 1920.

Calls of Nature

Calls of nature were a problem at first. The children used to pass urine or have bowel movements anywhere, and at any time. We did not know the time, and they also did it whenever they felt the calls. We commenced taking them out at regular times in the morning, noon, and evening, to create in them a habit of serving the calls of nature outside the house, or in the courtyard of the house. It was found later on that when they were not taken out they used to answer them inside the room, or wherever they were at the time. How then, I thought, could they keep their cave so neat and clean?

Regarding the cleanliness of their cave, I presumed that the whole night they used to prowl about outside the cave and used to finish everything during that period, and came back in the cave to rest the whole day there. It is also presumed that the cubs and the children also, when they were babies and could not go out with the wolves, served the calls of nature inside the cave, and the mother wolf used to lick the droppings up and take out the bones, etc., after they had eaten. So nothing remained in the cave. This presumption of ours is verified in the case of cats and dogs in our house. So it naturally follows that the wolves did the same thing to keep the cave clean and tidy.

We found out that they had no idea of wiping themselves. To clean themselves they used to rub their parts on the ground, having a motion just as cats and dogs do. We compelled them to have a wash, and Mrs. Singh used to attend to them each time, when we returned from our rounds on the fields. This washing they resented very much. They never liked water and did not like to approach it for washing.

January 31, 1921

They were noticed lapping water from a stream when they were thirsty, but when they understood that they were being taken for a wash, they

used to resent it very much, and used to struggle to free themselves, with the intention of not having to wash. After being forced several times, gradually they came round, although it took time. They unwillingly permitted us to wash them, in the same manner as a dog or a cat permits a bath.

Their bath was a very difficult task, and it took a long time to train them to it. They never cared for baths, even in the hottest summer. They would drink water very well, but did not like to have a wash at all.

Courage at Night

In the animal world we find that many animals leave their den at dusk and prowl about the whole night in search of prey, their food. It is just the opposite with mankind. They are awake the whole day and do all they have to do. But as soon as night comes, they generally confine themselves to their homes and pass the night sleeping. They get up early in the morning to follow their daily routine of life.

Kamala and Amala at first belonged to the animal world in this regard, for they were bred and brought up as such. Kamala, eight years from her infancy, and Amala, for a year and a half, had lived like animals.¹ They were practically animals in everything; so much so, that they purposely chose that very period when mankind feared to be out as their time of activity and wakefulness. The twenty-four hours of a day are thus divided between men and animals by God's sanction and approval.

The animals hide themselves during day. They are not to be seen, nor to be heard during the day. It is their time of fear, misgiving, and danger. They are sought out and hunted during day. But night brings them peace, coupled with animal courage, ferocity, and a craving to satisfy their appetite. And thus, as the day is for man, so the night is for the animal. The whole creation is thus divided to suit both mankind and animal. The

¹ How is it known that Kamala "eight years from her infancy" and Amala "for a year and a half" had lived like animals? Surely in such a period of time they would have come to the attention of villagers. (Dr. Wilton M. Krogman)

The man-ghost used to be seen in the thickest part of the jungle far off from the vicinity of the village Godamuri, though not always, I was told. As all the people did or could not see the ghost often, the fear for the ghost was less, but the people of the village, who saw the ghost in the far-off jungle far, far away from their own village, did not forget to offer up the Pujas so that the ghost might not come to the vicinity of their villages. The people of Godamuri got frightened when they found the man-ghost living so close to their village and frequented close, round about their village, and they wanted to desert the village when I happened to come in there.

The aging of Kamala was mere guesswork, and I could not be certain of this but thought so at the time. (Rev. J. A. L. Singh)

power of animal vision is also regulated accordingly. At night, man is cowardly and blind, while the animal sees at night and is courageous.

It was possible for Kamala and Amala to be separated for a little while during day, though reluctantly. If they were frightened during the day, when they happened to be close to one another, they would come together at once. But when they happened to be at a distance from one another and failed to come together, they used to hide themselves separately. At night, they always kept together and were not to be separated at all.

At night they had no fear at all. They knew that all were asleep and would not come out. So they felt themselves quite free from all fear and used to move about inside the courtyard freely and boldly.

February 21, 1921

If they could get out at night, as they did once on this date, it was noticed that they had no fear at all. They were found prowling cheerfully in the open, extensive field round about the Orphanage compound, after they had made us play hide and seek for them that night from 11:00 p.m. until 2:00 a.m. It was then found from their movements in hiding and running away that they were not at all frightened in the darkest night.

CHAPTER VII

Emotions—October 23, to September, 1923

WHAT emotions could they have? They never laughed. Although Kamala had a smiling face, the emotion of joy was far from it. I never saw her laughing or smiling, during the first three years from the twenty-third of October, 1920, to September, 1923, except for the external signs of joy or satisfaction in her appearance and bearing seen at the time of eating, when they were very hungry, and especially when they got meat by chance. They ate and drank, and the joy or satisfaction was that of an animal. They were pleased that their appetite was being satisfied, nothing more than this. Unlike human pleasures and joys, theirs were confined in a very narrow circle, while those of mankind are extensive, circumscribed by time only. When they went with us in the open field, if they could perchance get away from us a good distance, which gave them the assurance of freedom, we could see them stealthily moving about, and at times, playing between themselves: running about, jumping on feet and hands, looking at one another in a different manner altogether. All this spoke of a peculiar joy among animals only.

January 17, 1921

All this was noticed on the seventeenth of January, 1921. It proves that they detested human company and association altogether.

September 21, 1921

Kamala shed tears—a drop from each eye was seen trickling down her cheeks—only at the time when Amala breathed her last on the early morning of Wednesday, the twenty-first of September, 1921. Beyond this, emotional faculties were dormant, and not appreciable.

Affection or Attachment

They would go to Mrs. Singh when hungry, or when thirsty, as mentioned before.

March 18, 1921

On this day, they were in the compound in the midst of other young Orphanage children, and a cow suddenly got loose and ran into the garden close to the children. The children all ran away hither and thither hurriedly. But Kamala and Amala ran to Mrs. Singh, who was standing a little way off from the place where the children were. Later, both had come to her in the same room, though not at close quarters, but at a little distance, shyly and timidly, waiting there for some time, looking at her stealthily, and going away in the same manner as they had come. This was very significant—their coming to her by singling her out among others in the whole house, in their own way, as far as their animal life permitted them, speaks of their gradual attempt to associate with her only. This attempt was first detected on the eleventh of January, 1921.

In time of illness, they always looked for her, as if they found some solace in her nursing. They used not to suck from their bottles, if presented by any other person; when they got a bit stronger, they did not permit anyone else to nurse them but her. They used to be restless when any other person went to nurse them, but quietly permitted her to do so.

November 26, 1920

A girl, Parul by name, was sent on this day to give them the bottles. Kamala refused to take hers, and Amala did not open her mouth to receive the nipple and lay with her eyes closed. The girl reported her failure. After this, Mrs. Singh went in, coaxed them a little, and passed her hand on them, one after the other, and each one accepted the bottle.

These are the signs of a growing feeling, approaching human affection. Affection in this world is able to work wonders, if we have the divine patience to co-operate with it. Affection tames the pets in the house—the cats, the dogs, and the birds. It is affection that comes out to meet its object, to bestow a love gift unknown to it before, and thus gradually prepares the way to attract it to a stage when the object realises that it is wholly dependent on this rare affection. It is affection that binds one to submit to another, that binds a brave heart to a coward, a higher being to a lower creature, a noble to a slave, a man to an animal, and even an enemy to a bitter foe. The essence of human life is nothing but affection. This is represented in filial affection. The wolf-children looked for the same affection which they found in the mother wolf (in accordance with their crude animal nature) from their very infancy. That sympathy, or affection, or kindness, they were searching for among us, but they could not trust us

at the beginning, and hence the delay in their progress in cultivating the human faculties.

This fact, as a sublime truth, was opened out to me in my study of Kamala and Amala from the year 1920. It is through the agency of affection that we could develop their dormant human instincts to grow, just as in a child from its very infancy. It is the mother's love and kindness that paves the way of future growth of manhood. The child submits to his mother blindly because he knows that his mother loves him, and he can trust her. So, then, Kamala and Amala could not trust us, could not be sure that we bore affection to them, and the resulting delay in understanding and believing this fact delayed their development and progress in human life.

Affection, as I had understood hitherto, was a misconception of reality and was superficial, because I saw it between equals, or between a higher and a lower grade in mankind. Although I noticed something of this between a higher and a lower order in creation, between us and our pets in our own home, yet the full realization was not there. I could not see it as a great truth, the aim of creation. We have pets in the house, and what is our relation to them? Our relation to them is simply to please ourselves, and not them. We feed them because we derive some pleasure for ourselves in so doing. We watch them or talk to them because their attitude and movements please us. Our whole bearing towards our pets is simply for ourselves and our pleasure. This is one-sided and selfish. The pets, on the other hand, do not accept this superficial kind treatment as genuine very readily when they are made to associate with us. In the first place, they cannot trust us that we could be their friends. Secondly, their nature and ours are diametrically opposite. It needs patience and tact united with love or affection as the major factor to tame them. It is easier with the young ones, but wholly impossible with the grownups.

The pets do understand us much more than we think they are able to. It is in our houses we teach them insincerity and build them up to grow and mature in it. In the jungle they are simple, and sincerely ferocious, which is already known by their species and kind. To wish the jungle beasts to be tame and to be our companions is beyond our expectation, from the very fact that their nature and ours are quite different. And again, their animal instincts are developed to such a pitch in the animal environment that we have no idea. You can easily tame a young animal or a bird from its very infancy. But the grownups behave just as described above, and that is due to the difference mentioned therein. On the other hand, animals have no human instincts to develop at all.

In the case of Kamala and Amala their human instincts were all lying dormant almost in a subconscious state. To face this difference in human or animal instincts with a view to make the desired association possible, is a very difficult problem. Nothing in this world can solve this great problem except love, in any of its forms.

In the case of Kamala and Amala the great difference was that their animal instincts had had all the opportunity of developing as such, i.e., all that is required to live that life—even the modifications of the limbs and the body took place in order to adapt them to the requirements of living a wild life.² Kamala and Amala are proofs which cannot be denied.

The first thing necessary, then, is to place them in a position in which they can gradually understand us and trust us. It is very important that they should know that our attention to them is genuine, and that we are sincere in our dealings with them. Kamala had been living with the wolves for eight years and Amala for one year and a half. In Kamala the conditions were formed and set. To change them and to develop the dormant human instincts in order to adapt her to associate with us was very difficult.

To attempt this change means a good deal more than we do really understand. A close analysis of the cases of these wolf-children will show how difficult it is even to attempt it. It is only possible if you can create a liking in them for the change so desired. To create a liking means you must make them understand that you are their well-wisher, and that you love them sincerely. Unless and until that is understood by them, you cannot make them associate with you and they cannot accept you as their benefactor. By showing your genuine affection to them, you make them realize it in their own way. The understanding turns them from aversion to friendliness. As they grow in this knowledge, they grow in that relationship of attachment. This knowledge expels the distrust, which alone stands as a great demon to destroy the incoming awakening of all finer feelings, and thus cruelly blocks all the doors of learning.

In the case of Kamala and Amala, it took nearly a year (from the fourth of November to the twenty-first of September, 1921) to create in them a liking to associate with Mrs. Singh. This very clearly proves that affection only could bring about the beginning of the desired change, so very anxiously awaited.

In the animal world we understand by taming, a sort of friendliness between them and us. There they stop in their life, on account of the

² The modifications of their limbs and body were the natural result of the way the limbs had been used in imitation of the wolves. (R. R. Gates)

diversity of nature in their inheritance of instincts from their ancestors. It does not grow after this stage is attained. But the case of Kamala and Amala is quite different. They were human children, and they inherited from their ancestors the human instincts, in addition to the normal animal instincts found in a human being. They took such a long time to come round for a change because there was mistrust lurking behind in either case. So long as they could not find a sincere, pure, and free affection, they refused to grow in humanity. They could not see the import of being a human being till they came to know that Mrs. Singh was their trusted benefactress.

CHAPTER VIII

KAMALA and Amala were accepted as children of the age of a year and less than a year respectively, although their ages were guessed to be eight and one and one-half years. They were to be dealt with as infants of those ages. They had no language,¹ and their nature was wholly that of an animal to all intents and purposes. They had cultivated the animal nature and condition of life almost to perfection in the animal world. To change that meant to change an acquired, and so far, a permanent habit, which was not so easy for them. We failed to understand them practically, as we had had no experience like them. But this is certain that they had to undergo a good deal of hardship and inconvenience in their set habits to permit such a change to come about.

How could Kamala and Amala have become animals to all intents and purposes? Their limbs and body, though those of a human being, underwent modification to such an extent that the acquired animal movements became natural to them.² This is because they were thrown into the company of the wolves from their very babyhood. They had not had the opportunity of making use of their limbs in the human world as human children. As babies they had no example before them to copy, except that of the animal. They saw the wolves and copied them. To do this, their limbs underwent deformity in adapting themselves to the requirements of the circumstances and the life they had to lead with the wolves.

This is a new case. Although both human and animal powers were present in them—in brain, in heart, in limbs, and in body (unlike a puppy

¹ It is said that James I of England wanted to see the experiment tried of bringing up a couple of children without their ever hearing the sound of a human voice. He conjectured that they would speak "pure Hebrew"! (R. R. Gates). (See p. 166, fn. 34)

² What is meant by "acquired animal movements"? Man is a biped and cannot revert to a real quadruped gait. (Dr. Wilton M. Krogman)

How do you know man cannot revert to a quadruped gait? The fact was present and no one could deny it. How it was possible for them to acquire this animal mode of locomotion on all fours and on hands and feet, crawling, is not fully known and cannot be ascertained. Most likely, because living with the wolves in the jungle such kind of locomotion was absolutely necessary, that is why they were compelled to adopt it, and nature must have been their master teacher. It is very difficult for us to account for it. (Rev. J. A. L. Singh)

dog possessing only the animal side); yet they grew in the animal side only, and their locomotion was accordingly modified to suit their environment. They grew up as animals pure and simple.

Kamala and Amala's attachment to Mrs. Singh became greater than that of any pet in the house, because the human side of their faculties began to grow, though very, very slowly, much slower than another human child of that assumed age of one year and less than a year, respectively. Their intelligence lay almost dormant.³ It showed indications of its presence on the first occasion when they were first seen peering out of the mouth of the tunnel of the wolf den. This was October 9 and 17, 1920. It was certainly there, but not sufficiently developed and cultivated. It lay almost in a dormant state, because they were thrown out of touch with the human beings from their very infancy and were living all alone with the animals only.

Now at this stage their animal side developed to give them a fixed animal character, with a body so modified to adapt themselves to the society, circumstances, and surroundings—in a word, the environment—and the human side lay in a passive state, almost in a subconscious state. If they were to grow in humanity, they would have to fight with the fixed animal character formed during those years with the wolves in their cave and in the jungle, i.e., the whole animal environment. There was not a free growth, as in the case of a human child of that age, in human society and environment. It was a hampered growth, consequently very, very slow in all its progress.

They had to eliminate some of their habits which were not required now. They had to make an effort to adapt themselves to the new environment they were placed in. Again, those animal developments, which modified their body, taste, and other senses to a great extent, were no longer required now. They were to give up and stop any further growth in them in the present environment. A new life, which is the sum total of the development of the human senses, was opened out to them. At first it stopped all growth in them for some time, because they had to fight with the acquired animal instincts from their infancy which had been given a purely animal development by their environment. The environment had changed, and they had to adapt themselves to a new sphere of life.

³ Formerly feral children were regarded as idiots; but that their intelligence was simply undeveloped through lack of human contact is shown by the fact that they finally developed intelligence after human contacts. The case of Kamala shows that even eight years of purely animal contacts did not develop idiocy, but the brain was still capable of responding so as to show some degree of intelligence under the proper stimuli. (R. R. Gates)

CHAPTER IX

THEIR human articulation was nil when they were found. They were mutes. No sound came from their mouths.

December 10, 1920

The only sound we heard from them was a peculiar cry, or howling, in the dead of night. We heard this just when they recovered from their illness on the tenth of December, 1920. This cry was a peculiar one; it began with a hoarse voice and ended in a thrilling shrill wailing,¹ very loud and continuous. It had a piercing note of a very high pitch. It was neither human nor animal. I presumed it was a call to their companions, the wolves, or the cubs. It was intended to make them aware of their whereabouts. Almost every night they used to cry regularly three times, once at about ten o'clock in the evening, once at one o'clock, and once at three o'clock in the morning. There was a difference of pitch in the two voices—Kalama's voice was stronger and bolder, more sharp and shrill. Amala's was weaker, changeful, and thinner. But both had a fine thrill of reverberating notes, very high, and piercing. It could be heard from a good distance, and more so on a still night when everyone was asleep and no other sound was audible except the screeching of the owl, the chirping of some night bird, and the sounds of the animals prowling in search of prey or drink. This sound was different from the growling or roaring of a ferocious animal meeting its prey. It was simply a call to signify their existence in a particular area. They went on crying like this for some time continually every night, and then stopped crying at regular hours. Later they used to cry now and then, but always at dead of night and never during the day. Kamala always began and Amala took it up and continued even when Kamala had stopped. At first it startled everyone in the Orphanage, but soon we became familiar with it.

December 12, 1920

Besides this shout, Amala uttered a noise, "Bhoo, Bhoo," when she was

¹ Another conditioned reflex learned from the wolves. (R. R. Gates)

thirsty and wanted her drink. It was first heard on this date. She used to crawl on hands and knees and produce that noise while approaching the place where drinking water, or milk, was kept. She used to come to the place and stand on her knees to reach the drink.

December 17, 1920

She was caught meddling with the utensil on this day. Kamala and Amala had no other articulation except these sounds.

Mrs. Singh was anxious from the very beginning, since they were admitted into the Orphanage, to bring out their articulation of speech. She treated them as babies just trying to prattle. She used to sit by them, whether in health or in sickness, to attend to them. She was always trying to bring her soothing influence to bear on them. At first they tried to keep away from her. They would go into the corner and behave in a fashion which expressed their dislike for her company.

Time passed this way, and they persisted in avoidance. During illness they were helpless, and grudgingly permitted her attendance to them. She continued with untiring effort to talk to them. At first, they did not pay any attention whatever. Then she thought of a plan—she commenced taking up prattling babies of the Orphanage and talking to them in their presence. These babies prattled with her before them. But Kamala and Amala moved away, and took another corner at a distance in the same room. If she again moved to them in that corner with the babies, they would resent it and again move away to another corner. She found that they were getting irritated, so she left off approaching them. She sat with the babies in the middle of the room, and went on talking to them. Kamala and Amala appeared quite indifferent, but at the same time, took notice of the babies especially, by stealthy looks. Whenever a baby moved away a little for something or other, their eyes followed them at once, but immediately turned away to their favorite corner, appearing as if they did not care what was going on. It appeared from their conduct that they kept a watch on all that was going on between Mrs. Singh and the babies in the middle of the same room in which they were.

December 13, 1920

This was seen on the thirteenth of December, 1920, for the first time.

At first this infantile conversation did not please them, but stealthily they watched everything that was going on. Mrs. Singh tried other devices; while she would be talking, she would display some biscuits by opening a tin, and distribute a few among the babies. The babies commenced to eat.

The noise of chewing attracted the wolf-children's attention, and both of them turned sharply to look. They turned their eyes away at once to the corner, but could not keep long without looking at the babies, turning round again to find out what they were doing. This they repeated in



Kamala receiving biscuits from Mrs. Singh's hand

quick succession, showing their appetite for the biscuit. This was assumed by her, and she approached them and gave them a biscuit each. They would not take them from her hand, so she placed them on a stool near them, and they took them immediately. This practice went on for some time.

August 3, 1921, and August 13, 1921

They learned to take biscuits from her hand on the third of August,

1921, and later even approached her to receive them on the thirteenth of August, 1921, but did not like to stay near her long. They went back to their corner forthwith.

Sometimes she would bring in milk and would be dealing it out in cups to the babies in the middle of the same room. Kamala and Amala at first did not come, but gradually they fell in with the babies by coming to her for it and returning to their corner at once, carrying the cup in one hand and crawling on their knees and the other hand.

In this way, Kamala and Amala commenced coming to Mrs. Singh when any food or drink was to be distributed among the babies.

Then she would show pictures to the babies and tell them short stories connected therewith. The babies, although they could not talk or talked very little, except mere prattling, would listen to her very attentively and see the pictures connected with the story. All this did not interest the wolf-children, but it was noticed that whenever the names of the food or drink with which they were familiar were uttered, they used to turn at once towards the pictures hung on the wall close to them and the babies.

Mrs. Singh got the clue now: she devised means to bring them round.

July 15, 1921

Sometime after, she introduced a game with the babies. She would prepare tea and distribute it among the babies with biscuits or bread. Kamala and Amala joined in on the fifteenth of July, 1921, for the first time. Unfortunately, there was no actual tea; only the biscuits were real.

July 16, 1921

The next day (the sixteenth of July, 1921) they did not come when tea was being distributed in the game, but came all right when the biscuits were being given away after the tea distribution.

Here it is distinctly seen that they disbelieved the teacup and did not come for it the next day, but came for that of which they were certain. It shows a sign of the intelligence they had, and we believed that this intelligence could be cultivated.

When we found they expressed a desire by their attitude and behavior for any food or drink, we at once attended to them sweetly and affectionately, pointing out to them the particular food or drink they were accustomed to in the Orphanage, all the time asking them and naming the food or drink, holding it up before them at the same time. They used to pick out that which they wanted.

Mrs. Singh used to take a collection of food stuffs, such as biscuits,

sweets, and some fruits, and go to the dormitory with the babies. She used to open the foods out in the room and ask the babies their names, one by one. Among the babies some could prattle and talk a little; she would hold up one of them before them. Some among them could give the names, but if they failed, Mrs. Singh would give the names herself and make them repeat the name several times. Kamala and Amala would be watching in the same fashion as before, but would not come till the food was being distributed. They heard and stealthily watched everything that was going on. They used to refuse what they did not want by not extending their hand; but they extended their hands for what they wanted. Fruits they did not care for; sweets, milk, and biscuits they liked. The best they liked was milk, and sweets much less.

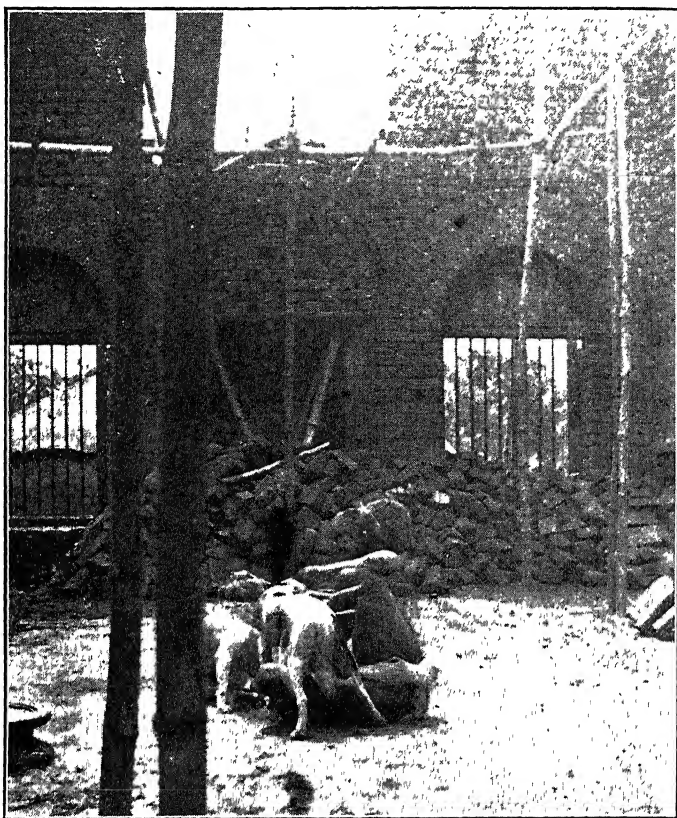
Massage

Early in the morning Mrs. Singh used to massage them with mustard oil,² and she would talk to them affectionately all the time thus engaged. At first the wolf-children resented it, expressing their dislike in their features. But the love expressed in tone and action was gradually understood, and the influence of the constant touch in the act of passing the hand all over the body for a pretty long time, from 4:00 to 5:00 a.m. daily, produced a soothing effect.

Early in the morning, when she went to massage them, Mrs. Singh used to ask them how they were. Mostly the babies would be up by then, and as soon as she entered the dormitory they used to jump out of their beds and go to her near Kamala and Amala. After putting the question to Kamala and Amala by turns, she would ask the same question of each baby as he or she came towards her from his or her respective bed. There would be some babies who could answer every morning. When one of them answered, she would take it up and coax others to say it, if they could prattle it out. If they failed, she would make the baby who had answered to repeat it several times. She took great care not to tire the babies. If she found they were getting tired, she would at once change the conversation to a game, or anything she thought would interest them. All the different treatments will be dealt with later on.

² This has nothing to do with the corrosive chemical commonly known as mustard oil or mustard gas. Various species of *Brassica* (mustard) are widely cultivated in India as a crop, for the oil they yield from their seeds. *B. campestris* has two cultivated varieties known as *toria* and *sarson*. The latter is used mainly for massage but to some extent for burning in primitive oil lamps. *Toria* is more pungent and is mainly used for burning. Another species, *Brassica nigra* commonly called *rai*, is widely grown and its oil is used for culinary purposes. (R. R. Gates)

This change to a game would be to whatever they liked. It used to be a sort of game in the presence of the wolf-children: such as tickling them, taking them on her lap, caressing them, and coaxing them in a manner which they liked and wanted to have repeated. Kamala and Amala used



Kamala playing with dogs and pets

to be indifferent and would not even look at first, but gradually commenced to look at them in the indifferent manner peculiar to them.

At times she would bring in dogs and pups and come near Kamala and Amala. They paid more attention to the pups than to the babies or dogs. They watched the pups in all their movements, closely following them with their eyes as long as they were in the room.

December 17, 1920

This attention was noticed on this date. This bringing in the pups was intended to be a medium towards their progress in the cultivation of human faculties, and this association helped to give them courage to associate with us because of the pups which played with us in the same room, in their presence. But it had a bad effect as well: they paid more attention to the animal inmates of the Orphanage, the pups, than to the babies, and even far less towards my wife or me. But we could not help it, because we found that this was the only means to assure Kamala and Amala that we were the friends of the pups and that the pups liked to associate with us. Thus we waited to create in the wolf-children some interest in us through this example from the pups. This example we wished them to copy, and behave fearlessly in our association. Thus we wanted to reassure Kamala and Amala, and create in them an interest through the examples of our association with the babies, the dogs, and the pups. It did not visibly produce any hopeful effect at once, but we went on for several months, till Amala and Kamala fell ill on September 4 and September 6, 1921, respectively.

CHAPTER X

Illness—September 7, 1921

THIS illness took a serious turn. Amala and Kamala remained unconscious for five days from the seventh of September to the eleventh of September, 1921. Our family doctor, Dr. S. P. Sarbadhicari, was called in on the eleventh of September, 1921, Sunday.

Dr. Sarbadhicari, after watching the patients for some time, asked me the conditions of their living and their family history. He said, "Rev. Singh, you are in the habit of picking up these forlorn babies and children, and cannot give any family history, or their parentage. It becomes very difficult for us to treat them, and in most cases our treatment fails, and we get a bad name. You must give me the conditions of life, at any rate, in which they were found. Whether they were actually orphans and were being starved, or whether you found them ill like this, or healthy, or emaciated." Without knowing this much, at least, he said he could not treat them.

Finding the doctor so adamant, I consulted my wife. She said, "You must tell the doctor all he wants to know as far as you can. What is the use of hiding it from the doctor when there is no hope of their recovery?" I agreed and told the doctor the history of the rescue, though much more than that I did not know.

I requested the doctor very earnestly not to divulge the secret. But unfortunately this request only added impetus to his desire for publication. The next day all the families in the town, wherever he went, knew all about the wolf-children in our Orphanage at Midnapore.

September 12, 1921

The disease commenced with Amala first. Diarrhea set in, followed by dysentery. Then round worms appeared on the twelfth of September, 1921. The round worms were six inches long, red in color, as thick as the little finger of the hand, and almost all of them alive. When they were

ejected Amala brought out eighteen such worms, whereas Kamala brought out 116. They had fever from the beginning. This wasting disease made them very weak and emaciated, so much so, that it was with a good deal of difficulty that they could move from side to side.



Dr. S. P. Sarbadhicari I.M.S., the physician attending the wolf-children in the Midnapore Orphanage

September 6 to 21, 1921

All these days and nights, from the sixth to the twenty-first of September, 1921, Mrs. Singh remained with them at their bedside nursing them, taking temperatures, giving medicine, and feeding them every fifteen

minutes with a spoonful or two of barley water, according to the doctor's direction.

September 7 to 11, 1921

Between these dates, they were unconscious, cold, and motionless, only just breathing a little to permit us to perceive that they were living. They just opened their mouths when the spoon containing some drink or medicine touched their lips. They kept their eyes closed all the time and did not open them even once during this illness.

The doctor could not give us any hope at all. Our only help was prayer, and we had recourse to it constantly and commended them to the Lord Jesus, the Lover of children. We requested all our church members to offer prayers for them. The parishioners, group by group, congregated by their bedside to pray daily, either in the morning or evening.

September 15, 1921

Thus the time passed, and Amala's case became hopeless. She left off taking any diet or medicine. Her temperature sunk to 96 on the fifteenth of September, 1921, in the morning. She revived a little at about six in the morning the same day, and her temperature rose again to 102. We were hopeful and thanked the Lord for His mercy thus shown to them. It remained there for a day and then commenced sinking again, never to rise. Amala gave up the ghost on the twenty-first of September, 1921.

September 21, 1921

Thus ended the story of one, but by the blessed Lord's grace Kamala survived to continue her abode with us till the fourteenth of November, 1929. Amala was baptized a little while before she expired, by the same name.

She was buried in the churchyard of St. John's Church, Midnapore, on the twenty-first of September, 1921. Her death certificate ran as follows:

This is to certify that Amala (Wolf-Child), a girl of the Rev. Singh's Orphanage, died of Nephritis on September 21, 1921. She was under my treatment.

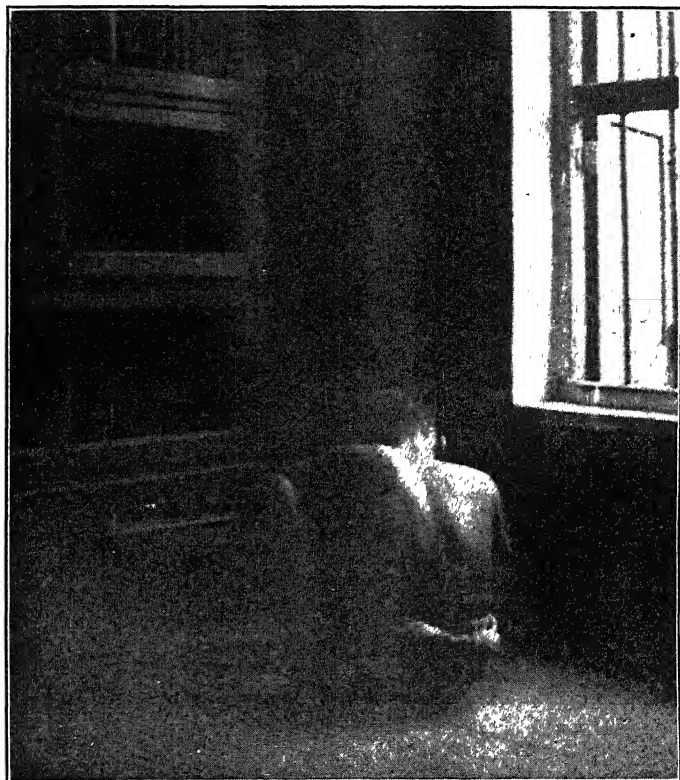
September 21, 1921.

Sd/-S. P. Sarbadhicari.
Indian Medical Service.

CHAPTER XI

Association

SOMETHING with regard to the beginning of Kamala's mental growth and association with humans has already been recorded. Now we shall deal with its gradual growth from date to date as recorded.



Kamala sat musing in the corner

September 21 to 27, 1921

After Amala's death on the twenty-first of September, 1921, Kamala felt lonely. She sat in her corner all by herself for a few days, from the twenty-first of September to the twenty-seventh of September, 1921.

October 29, 1921

On this date she left her corner during the day and commenced crawling to the kids in the house.

November 1, 1921

Kamala went to the kids and took them on her lap, sometimes two together. She was also seen sitting among them.

November 18, 1921

Kamala was seen talking to them and trying to utter words in a prattling manner like a baby of one and one-half years age.

She passed her hand over them very lovingly, and at times, her face brightened up so as to approach a human smile for a passing second. This was noticed on the eighteenth of November, 1921.

She wanted to be with the kids the whole time, and when they went to the pasture, Kamala would come out of her corner very often during the day to see whether the kids had come back. She used to move up and down in this fashion all the time they were absent.

November 21, 1921

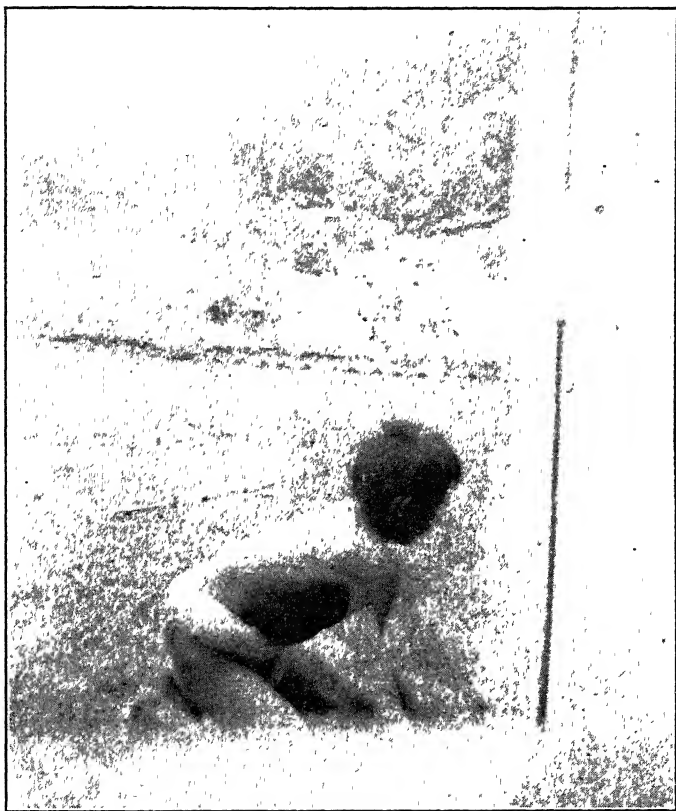
After a few days it was noticed that Kamala had devised a new association, by following the fowls in the absence of kids. She would come up to the group of fowls, and when they separated, finding her coming to them, she would choose a particular fowl and follow it out of the house and even throughout the compound of three and one-half acres of land in the orchard, moving in the shade from one tree to another, during the hot sun. It was not that she wanted to catch it and eat it, but simply to follow it wherever it went.

The poultry did not like being followed and did not care for Kamala's company. They would disperse as soon as she came in or followed them. But she would continue to roam after them aimlessly.

December 4, 1921

She also liked the cat and was seen playing with it in a dark room. The cat also liked to be near her for a pretty long time. The cat played with

her with its paws, and she played with it with her hands in the same fashion. The cat at times scratched the ground, and she did the same with her fingernails.



Kamala scratching the ground in imitation of a chicken

December 15, 1921

Flying birds she did not like so much. She looked at the pigeons from a distance, but never tried to approach them. When they flew about in the room or in the courtyard, Kamala used to look at them with some sort of fear, if the pigeons flew all of a sudden with the fluttering sound of the wings. On the fifteenth of December, 1921, for the first time, this was noticed to startle her and cause her to shake.

January 18, 1922

Once, on the eighteenth of January, 1922, two pigeons were caught for the table and brought to her in the room where she was. I called Kamala, but she would not respond by looking towards me. Then I took the two pigeons to her, and she put them aside by stretching out her hand. One of the pigeons I let fly, and she gave a peculiar look of dissatisfaction and would not even look at the other pigeon in my hand. She started when the pigeon made a fluttering noise with its wings. The other one was set free from my hand, and I came out of the room, leaving the pigeon there, and shut the door, leaving the windows open; these windows were covered with network, so that it could not fly out. I noticed from the key-hole that the pigeons commenced picking up the few grains I had thrown round about the room. When the pigeon came near Kamala, she got annoyed and would drive it away by raising her hand and making other gestures to show that she did not like the pigeon or its company. She looked puzzled and at times astonished when it flew about in the room to get out. This was noticed on the eighteenth of January, 1922.

We had a hyena cub in the house, and she took to it very readily. When we shut up the cub in its cage, she would come and sit near it and very reluctantly moved from the place when she was wanted for a wash, food, etc.

Summary—September 21, 1921, to end of January, 1922

During this period it was found that she did not come so often to the place where she knew the food or drink was kept. She kept to herself or associated with the kids, fowls, and the hyena cub.

It was noticed that the hyena cub also liked to associate with her. When the cub was set free, it used to find Kamala out, searching for her from room to room. She also in her turn, as soon as she came to know that the cub was let loose, would follow it wherever it went.

We found that after the death of Amala she seldom came to Mrs. Singh as she had done before. It was always noticed that Amala gave her the lead to come to Mrs. Singh; Amala first moved towards her and Kamala followed, cautiously watching Amala and Mrs. Singh from a distance. When she found that Amala approached Mrs. Singh continuously and Mrs. Singh behaved lovingly towards her, Kamala used to move slowly towards Mrs. Singh from the place where she had been watching. It was always Amala first, and then Kamala following her.

It had also been found that Amala, the youngest, took to Mrs. Singh

sooner than Kamala. Kamala would watch, judge, decide, and then act in such association. It was easy for Amala, being younger, to find that Mrs. Singh's company was pleasant, loving, and motherlike; i.e., she found some of Mrs. Singh's conduct towards them to be of the same nature, to a certain extent, as that of the wolf-mother. She learned to depend upon Mrs. Singh, but Kamala took much longer to acquire this confidence in Mrs. Singh.

September 21 and 22, 1921

Kamala was very much attached to Amala. This was seen throughout, and more so on the day when Amala expired. Kamala would not leave the place and wanted to be with the dead body. She was removed with some difficulty from the coffin, and her face showed a marked change on the occasion. She did not eat or drink anything for two days—the twenty-first and twenty-second of September, 1921—except a little water now and then. The water she drank was forced upon her with great coaxing and much endearment by Mrs. Singh. We could see that although Kamala could not speak, she felt the separation very much.

The morning Amala died Kamala at first did not know anything was wrong; she sat in the same room on her bed. She watched Amala for some time, and thought she was sleeping; she came to Amala several times and tried to wake her up by touching her hand and even trying to drag her out of bed. She touched her face, opened the lids of her eyes with her fingers, and parted her lips. Finding her meddling with the body in this fashion, we dissuaded her by coaxing her to come to another room. She did not stay there long, and came back to Amala. Mrs. Singh followed her and kept a strict watch without letting her know. When Kamala found Amala did not get up and did not even move, she left her side and moved away to her own bed. This she repeated the whole day till Amala was removed for burial. There was something, some change in Amala, which Kamala could understand, and she seemed to come to the conclusion that Amala was dead, and two teardrops fell from her eyes. She stuck to the place where the dead body was till Amala was put into the coffin and removed for the funeral.

January 2, 1922

Finding that she was keeping company too much with the kids, fowls, and the hyena cub, we removed the kids from the Orphanage to our farmhouse on this day. Fortunately for Kamala, the hyena cub died soon after on the twentieth of January, 1922.

January 20, 1922

Now, unfortunately, Kamala was left alone in the Orphanage among the orphans and us three, my wife, myself, and our youngest daughter. Kamala became very morose, more so than we had found them both at the very beginning. She commenced to feel the absence of Amala very much.

October 8, 1921

One day, on the eighth of October, 1921, at noon, she was found smelling all the places which Amala used to frequent when alive: the bed, the plate she used to eat from, the clothes, etc. She went even to the garden and roamed about as if searching for something but not finding it. Mrs. Singh tried to persuade her every now and then to come inside the house, but she refused and remained in the garden. She left off following the fowls and went round all the places where Amala had been. The sun was very hot, but she did not mind it. She was panting and putting out her tongue at times, but she remained out and did not enter the dormitory the whole day. We began to fear she would go crazy. At this time I advised Mrs. Singh to massage her for a much longer period than before, twice a day—both early in the morning, and in the evening. I am convinced now that the affectionate touch did bring her round to associate with Mrs. Singh, as this effect was seen from the very outset.

October 16, 1921

When Kamala was convalescent she became a very quiet child. All her previous interests ceased, and she behaved like an idiot. Her mind became vacant as if she were thinking of nothing; and she did nothing, except to roam about in a pensive manner. The whole day long she had no rest. She cried constantly with a peculiar voice, whether by day or night. The first time she uttered her howl after her illness was on the sixteenth of October, 1921. From then on she used to howl and prowl about at night constantly, as if searching for something and trying to get a response to her howling. She was restless, and there were indications of her going back to her old ferocious nature. Watching her movements for some time, I was alarmed that she might get back her old ferocity and consulted Mrs. Singh as to what should be done to bring about some sort of change in her.

October 19 to 25, 1921

We both agreed that the additional massage might do her good. Mrs.

Singh at once prolonged the period of massage and watched the result from the nineteenth to the twenty-fifth of October, 1921, as recorded below, and continued it for a month.

Massage

The account of this massage is thus summarized by Bishop H. Pakenham-Walsh:

This massage was skillfully and tenderly done with many endearments from the top of the body down to the bottom, very special attention being given to those parts—the arms, hands, fingers, legs, feet, toes, etc.—whose normal human development had been interfered with by the mode of life of the wolves. Mrs. Singh was a skilled masseuse, and always stopped the massage of any part when Kamala seemed to be tired of it. The massage had a wonderful effect in strengthening and loosening Kamala's muscles for human use and in drawing her to trust in, and love her tender foster mother.

Early in the morning at four o'clock Mrs. Singh used to get up and go to Kamala for massage. She took Kamala's head first, and passed her fingers softly and tenderly through her (Kamala's) hair, and then rubbed smoothly with the palms.

When her palms descended just grazing the head down to the forehead, she passed her thumbs gently from the middle to the sides, approaching the ears. She took the ears by the thumbs and the four fingers and gave a mild twist to make the circulation of the blood brisk at those parts. She brought back her thumbs to the middle of the forehead again. Then from the middle of the forehead she went back to the ears with a perpendicular jerk, moving the thumbs with a zigzag motion.

After some time the four fingers, followed by the thumbs in a grazing glide, descended onto the cheeks on both sides. The four fingers followed by the thumbs passed round the cheeks, touching the bridge of the nose and the lower part of the eyes, returning to the ear. This was repeated as long as she thought fit, and as the patient liked it.

Then the hands went back on to the neck, and Kamala was laid flat on her chest. Mrs. Singh put her two thumbs together jointly and gently rubbed down the spine to its extremity.

From there she passed her palms to the abdomen and the sides, coming to the neck by the shoulders, leaving the chest free. From the neck, the four fingers followed by the thumbs went round the chest in two halves, parting at the middle. This was repeated as long as she felt the patient wanted it.

Then the two arms were taken. She passed her hand by the armpit onto the shoulders on top. Then the hands passed by the turn of the muscle on the arms, coming to the elbows, circled round the elbow joints in a peculiar twist, and passed on to the forearm, grazing down to the wrist. Then the palms were taken. The thumbs passed between the two bones leading to the fingers. After this, the fingers were twisted and twitched. Then the fingers were pulled mildly. The fists were closed, and the hands moved up.

The moment she found out that Kamala did not like it, she changed at once to the other parts.

After the chest, the hands with the spread-out palms descended by the spine to the waist. Encircling the waist, she passed her palms between the thigh joints and brought them out under the buttocks, back to the front on the thigh, descending, grazing just above the knees following the muscles.

At the knees a sharp twist round the kneecap and then the thumbs were pressed rather lightly round the knees, descending to the calves.

From the calves they descended to the ankles. The thumbs went round the ankle-joint bones and then descended round the heels, coming down to the feet, and passed on to the toes.

The toes were twisted in peculiar fashion very gently, and then the toes were pulled several times. This was the process of massage treatment Mrs. Singh followed throughout.

In addition to the massage, she would be talking to Kamala all the time, ceaselessly coaxing in endearments expressed in the most loving tones possible to meet the need of the wild nature of Kamala.

This process of massage with mustard oil¹ produced the desired results.

November 25, 1921

Mrs. Singh's constant attention and attendance, coupled with her massage, acted marvelously. Though it did not come all at once, the desired effect was clearly visible after a month on the twenty-fifth of November, 1921.

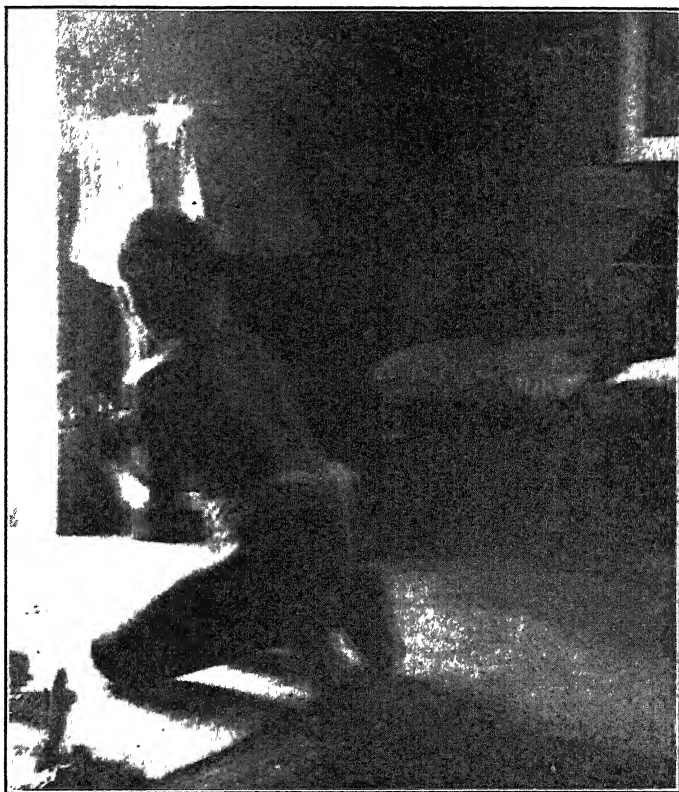
Kamala again commenced behaving almost in the same manner as she used to when Amala was alive.

November 27 and 30, 1921

After the death of Amala, Kamala had been averse to coming to Mrs. Singh, but on the twenty-seventh of November, 1921, she invited Mrs.

¹ See p. 49, fn. 2. (R. R. Gates)

Singh's attention. On the thirtieth, when she was lying down at noon and Mrs. Singh approached her bed, Kamala looked at her. Mrs. Singh wanted to sit on the bed, and Kamala quietly moved a little to the other side of the bed to allow her room to sit down. Mrs. Singh placed her hand on Kamala's forehead, and she was quiet and did not show the least sign



Kamala examining the toys

of unwillingness or dislike at her touch. Kamala caught hold of her hand and placed it on her chest. Mrs. Singh thought that she wanted her to give her a little massage. She at once got some oil and commenced massaging the parts Kamala had indicated. All this showed that she had begun to like it because it gave her some comfort.

We found that this massage not only soothed her, but gave strength to all parts of her body and limbs. She gained strength rapidly.

December 2 to 15, 1921

Kamala commenced coming to the room where Mrs. Singh used to be at the time, and sitting by her at a little distance, but remained attentive to all that was going on in the same room. The babies all round Mrs. Singh saw her, and brought out their toys. If by chance a toy rolled to Kamala, she caught it and tried to examine it, turning it round and round. Red color attracted her more than the rest. It was generally the red-colored toys which she picked out, and she would run away with a toy in her mouth. All this was noticed from the second to the fifteenth of December, 1921.

December 27, 1921

On this day Kamala came straight to Mrs. Singh, who asked her whether she was hungry. Kamala nodded her head to say yes. We were very much delighted to see this and became very hopeful as regards her progress in this way. After this, Kamala allowed Mrs. Singh to sit by her with the prattling babies. In a word, she permitted her company to a great extent. She commenced coming to her and preferred to remain near her with the babies, instead of roaming about in the garden after the fowls, or associating with any other animal in the house. She began accepting foods and drink from Mrs. Singh's hand. She behaved in every way like a baby of one and one-half years.

CHAPTER XII

Modification of Limbs

It has already been pointed out that Kamala's limbs had undergone modification to adapt herself to her environment, from her very babyhood of life with the wolves, the presumption being that she was carried away by the wolves as a baby. Now, these distorted limbs were to be modified so as to adapt her to human life among us. The best treatment, as we have seen, was that of massage. At the time of massaging, great care was taken to straighten the knee joints and the ankle joints by constant light rubbing, twisting with the application of mustard oil, and gentle jerking. The circulation of the blood in those parts was improved. In the same way the muscles in the arms, thighs, and the calves were treated so as to strengthen the nerves gradually.

January 17, 1922

The next treatment after she got strong enough to bear it was taken up from the seventeenth of January, 1922. It was an exercise at the same time. She was made to reach some tempting food by standing on her knees. She never could stand long on her knees. At first, she used just to stand on them to take the thing if she liked it, and instantly come down on her hands and knees. At the beginning, she never used to do even this much, although we tried to get her to do so on several occasions. But now Kamala had become somewhat tame, and was paying more attention to those things which vitally concerned her.

Exercise 1

February 8 and 9, 1922

Once, on the eighth of February, 1922, it was noticed that when Mrs. Singh broke biscuits in parts and presented them to Kamala, in crawling she lost two or three pieces from her hand. The next day Mrs. Singh

lifted the plate a bit higher. Kamala looked at the plate, but failed to reach it. The plate was lowered again and Kamala grabbed at all of them. Next Kamala was given her biscuits along with the babies. This time the babies who could stand, or stand on their knees, were taken first, in the presence of Kamala. Those who could stand took the biscuits standing, and those who were crawling stood on their knees and extended their hands to receive them from Mrs. Singh's hand, just lowered enough to make it possible for them to reach them in the two different positions mentioned. After dealing with each baby, Kamala was tried. Kamala, like the crawling babies, stood on her knees to receive the biscuits. But when she tried to imitate a standing baby, she could not stand.

We devised a plan to encourage her to stand. We made her sit on a high stool so that she was at the same height as the standing baby. This went on for some time. Then at other times when the biscuits were being distributed, Kamala was not raised to the high stool purposely, as if apparently forgotten. She would be eagerly watching and waiting her turn after the babies. All of a sudden Mrs. Singh would turn round to find Kamala thus neglected, and would with loving expressions excuse herself for not noticing her, and would hasten to raise her onto a stool and give her a quantity of all that she had in her plate.

Exercise 2

February 13 to 27, 1922

On this date Mrs. Singh devised another plan: She gave Kamala a pillow to support her back against the wall so as to make her stand on her knees comfortably.¹ The pillows were given not only to Kamala, but to all the crawling babies in the same fashion. First the babies were attended to, and Kamala watched the proceedings. Kamala saw the babies standing on their knees and stretching forth their hands to reach the plate high above their head containing biscuits and sweets. When Kamala's turn came, she obeyed willingly for the sake of the biscuits and sweets, which, like the babies, she loved. She stood there against the wall, supporting her waist and back on the pillow, and waited quietly for the plate of sweets and biscuits. The plate was presented to all by turn, and to Kamala too. The babies took their share and dropped on their hands and knees at once. But Kamala behaved otherwise. She remained on her knees much longer with the hope of getting some more. A high stool was placed in

¹ One of the Hessian wolf-boys is reported to have been taught to stand erect by a similar method. See p. 205, fn. 4. (R. M. Zingg)

front of her, and the plate was placed there, so that, standing on her knees, she could reach it. She did not drop on her hands and knees, but remained in that state till the plate was finished. This procedure was continued for nearly two weeks every morning after tea at eight a.m. daily, and the result was that Kamala practiced standing on her knees daily.



Kamala standing on her knees

February 27, 1922

It was noticed after the twenty-seventh of February, 1922, that Kamala stood on her knees whenever she liked and especially when something was held up so that she could reach it, kneeling. She would crawl or go on all fours, but when she stopped she would generally stand on her knees.

March 2, 1922

She was observed on this date to walk on her knees for a short distance,

and when she felt tired, she would go on all fours, or crawl. In this manner her association with Mrs. Singh and consequently with the crawling babies improved. Now she did not dislike the company of Mrs. Singh and the babies as she had before. Although it may be said that she had some liking for their company, at the same time it must be admitted that it was because of her craving for the sweets and biscuits that she permitted the babies to be with her. When Mrs. Singh entered alone without the babies, she was rather despondent, thinking that the biscuits and sweets were not following. This was actually the case. When the babies were not with her, the plate was also absent.

March 4, 1922

From this date Kamala did not need the pillow as a support to stand on her knees. She could do so whenever she liked. Especially when anything was offered her, she would at once raise her body and stretch out her hands, asking in this fashion for something Mrs. Singh or I happened to have in our hands. Everything she saw in our hands attracted her in a most tempting fashion, and she was eager to have it, thinking that it must be something to eat.

Exercise 3

March 7, 1922

After this, we tried another exercise to help her to straighten her legs and to stand erect. We made a square of four benches with a table in the middle. The square did not permit any crawling baby to get into the center of the square thus formed without scaling the benches. The table in the middle was of the same height as the benches, and in order to touch the table or to take away anything placed on it, a baby would have to lean on one of the side benches, and to do so, raise its knees and rest its stomach on the bench, and support the lower part of the body from the waist to the feet downward, on its feet. We placed on the table some tempting eatables which Kamala and the crawling babies liked very much, and invited them all to take them. The babies came and tried this way and that, and at last got onto the side bench, leaning against it on their stomachs, resting the lower part of the body on their feet, and stretched out their hands to get at the plate in the center of the bench square.

March 21, 1922

Kamala watched them, but did nothing on the first day. This was the twenty-first of March, 1922. The babies failed to reach the plate and were

disappointed. Thereupon Mrs. Singh took the plate and distributed the things among them, making them all stand on their knees to receive them.

The next day the plate was again filled with all those attractive sweets, etc., and was again placed, in their presence, on the middle table inside the square of benches. We left the place and watched the babies and Kamala stealthily. The babies being much smaller than Kamala failed to reach the plate, although they tried their utmost. The babies got tired and gave it up. Kamala was sitting at a distance watching all their movements and attempts, as they were moving constantly all round the square. Then she got up, looked this side and that to find out where we were, and being certain that we were not there, she leaned against the bench on her stomach, straightening her knees, resting on her feet, and extending her right hand to the plate quite easily. She took it in her hand and descended to the floor, and squatted down to eat. The babies who were in the room, finding what Kamala had done, came to Mrs. Singh and reported the matter quite affectionately in broken words and broken sentences. Some of the greedy babies went round Kamala to get a share, but she looked somewhat ferocious, and they took fright. But all the same they watched Kamala eating the whole plate voraciously. Kamala did not chase them away as she had done before. She finished the plate, put it down, glanced again this side and that, and looked very pleased. After this, she came to the groups of babies to take toys from the basket, picking out the red ones only.

It should be mentioned here that Kamala and Amala used to chew toys, especially the red ones, and throw them away. They had no other use for toys at all. Besides, as said before, they never liked to play with the babies after they had bitten Benjamin on the thirty-first of December, 1920. They used to be quite indifferent to all the games which the babies or the Orphanage children used to have.

Exercise 4

March 24, 1922

At this stage, regularly from March 24, 1922, we adopted another plan of exercise for Kamala to give strength to the lower part of her body. Just in the evening before dusk we used to take Kamala out into the orchard of the Orphanage compound of three and a half acres, which was safe for children, being well fenced and fitted with gates. We used to leave her completely to herself under our personal observation from a distance. The

cat sometimes used to follow Mrs. Singh and Kamala, and the cat used to roam about at some distance from us.

March 26, 1922

One evening, two days later, the cat and Kamala were roaming about a little distance from us. We sat behind a big mango grove, and could



Kamala riding on a tree

not see Kamala and the cat for a few seconds. Then we found Kamala trying to ride a low thick branch of the mango tree, resting her stomach on the branch, making her knees straight, and resting the lower part of her body on her feet. The cat was found on the tree,

Exercise 5

We pretended not to have seen anything. The next day, just before we took Kamala out into the garden, we placed two plates on two lower branches of the tree. The plates contained biscuits and the like.

As usual we took her out, and that day the cat did not follow us. We left Kamala near the tree close to one of the plates and purposely went round the grove and waited behind it to see what Kamala would do when she found the accustomed plate there. Kamala saw it, looked round, and got to the plate in the same fashion as already described. She descended to the ground and commenced eating. Having seen this, we went into the farthest corner of the garden so as not to be seen by her.

We became very hopeful and were sure that Kamala would walk on her feet one day. We relied on the massage and the appropriate exercises to accustom her to the proper use of her feet and legs. We found the company of the cat very useful to attract her to this exercise of straightening her knees. The plate of biscuits and sweets also did a lot towards it. Very soon it became natural to her to stand on her knees, and occasionally she commenced to walk or move about on her knees. But she could not stand; she crawled; she went on all fours; went on her knees; but she could not walk at all. We repeated the exercise of the square of benches and the garden exercises daily till she could make her knees quite straight like ours.

Exercise 6

April 28, 1922

After this, on the twenty-eighth of April, 1922, we introduced another exercise. We placed something on a stool as high as a crawling baby could reach easily standing on its knees. Gradually the height was increased so that the babies had to try hard to reach the plate; some could, and others could not. For those who could reach it, the height was increased the day after. In this way the height was increased little by little till not one of the babies save Kamala only could reach the plate and eat the contents daily. Now it was Kamala's turn. The height was increased further till even Kamala found some difficulty in reaching it.

May 7, 1922

Finally, she failed to reach the plate on this date. We did not pay attention to her inability, but passed on as if nothing had happened. Kamala could not get at the plate and so could not eat the food, which remained

there intact. Neither the babies nor Kamala were given the contents of the plate as before. Kamala and the babies felt it, but we paid no attention at all, and passed by as if nothing had happened.

The whole night of that same day Kamala was unceasingly attempting to get at the plate, but failed. Early the next morning she constantly repeated her attempt. The results of this attempt I found very favorable.

May 10, 1922

This exercise continued, and on the tenth of May, 1922, it was noticed that Kamala could rest a little on her toes with raised heels and with her knees off the ground, bending at an obtuse angle, and keeping her body erect with her right arm outstretched to reach the plate. This exercise was repeated daily, and along with it another exercise was added on the eleventh of May, 1922.

Exercise 7

I made a slender wall bracket (A) about three inches in breadth, and a foot long, supported by a prop underneath fixed on to the ground. Just in front of it, a high slender table (B) was fixed, which could just hold a plate. It was just the height of Kamala. Kamala, resting on the bracket, could reach the plate on the table, but she had to stretch out her legs straight, resting on the toes, the heels being raised from the ground. Here Kamala used to be brought with the babies, and the plate was placed on the table in their presence. They used to be left alone in the room.

May 14, 1922

It was noticed that Kamala made use of the bracket to get hold of the plate on the fourteenth of May, 1922, and daily ate the contents. Kamala would approach the stool-like projection from the wall (A) and stretch out her hand (right) first and catch hold of the flat plank supported by the props from the floor. Then she would turn round to face the other higher projection (B) close to the projection (A); resting her waist and hip on the stool-like top of the projection (A) she would extend her hands to catch the plate placed on the top of the tablelike top of the projection (B). In this fashion, she used to try every day to take the plate containing the eatables, and at last succeeded in getting the plate and ate its contents.

The projection (B) was totally removed and the plate was hung by a

sling from the ceiling, so that the least touch of Kamala sent the plate with the sling away, and it became hard for her to catch the plate till she could support her whole body on her legs and toes. At last she could balance her body on her feet freely and tried to catch the hanging plate and succeeded. The repetition of this exercise strengthened her waist, knee joints, and ankle joints, to bear the weight of the upper part of the body.

Exercise 8

May 24, 1922

After some days, on this date, the bracket was removed, leaving the high table only. The table was moved a little towards the wall. Kamala came as usual, and leaning against the bare wall, standing in the same fashion, resting on the toes only, took the plate and ate the contents for five minutes. This was repeated for several days.

Exercise 9

June 6, 1922

On this day the table was taken away and the plate was hung from the ceiling at the same height from the ground against the wall as before, provided with the wall bracket again. Kamala came and found the difference. She rested on the bracket, but when she wanted to take hold of the plate, a little touch of the hand sent it away from her. Thus she failed to get hold of the plate as she had before. She slipped and went down a little, but did not fall. This showed that she had gained more strength in her legs to support the weight of the whole body. She repeated the attempt, and at last with some difficulty got the plate.

Exercise 10

June 18, 1922

After a few days, on the eighteenth of June, 1922, the bracket was removed and Kamala had to get the hanging plate by leaning against the bare wall. She failed to get the plate. The plate was left there all the time, and Kamala remained busy the whole day trying to tackle the plate, but failed every time. Sometimes when she missed the plate, she came down to the ground, dropping onto her hands.

Exercise 11

June 29, 1922

On this date I took Kamala, along with a kitten, into the open air. I took the kitten up and let her two front paws catch a branch, and let her go. She hung there from the branch, and Kamala watched the kitten from a distance. This I often repeated in her presence.



Kamala hanging from the tree

July 17, 1922

One day, on the seventeenth of July, 1922, during such an excursion, Kamala was seen trying to hang from a low branch which she could reach from the ground, standing on her knees. She caught hold of the

branch, and lifted her legs and tried to swing. She attempted this several times, but failed in her attempt to copy the kitten.

July 25, 1922

After some time, she was seen, on this date swinging in that fashion, like the kitten. She was touching the ground at times to gain fresh strength in thus swinging from the branch.

Exercise 12

Finding Kamala thus disposed to swing, we prepared a real swing for her and the babies. We hung two long ropes from the branch of a big tree with a slender plank as a seat, three inches broad and two feet long. At first Kamala did not like to be placed in it. We left her, and trained the babies little by little for some time in Kamala's presence. Kamala would be watching attentively from a distance, but would not come near or try the game herself. The seat of the swing was high up and the babies could not reach it. They had to be placed on it, and swung to and fro very slowly. Kamala watched, and the babies enjoyed swinging very much, after they got accustomed to it.

August 3, 1922

It was noticed at noon on this day when everyone was inside the house, that Kamala alone went out by herself to the swing. She was examining the swing carefully in her own way, standing on her knees and just reaching it with her outstretched arms. She did not try to get onto it, but pushed the swing to and fro, pulling it and not pushing it. In this activity she often fell on her hands, when the swing went away from her and she could not catch it. She did not get upon her knees till the swing stopped of itself.

CHAPTER XIII

Mode of Eating

KAMALA and Amala's mode of eating was at first, that of animals. Here we shall see Kamala's progress in learning to eat like a human baby of her age.

August 5, 1922

At first, she used to lap everything, whether food or drink, on the ground. But now we found that she could stand on her knees and eat in that position till the plate was finished, using both her hands freely, raising them to her mouth. To remain in this position, she needed some support in front to lean against. Otherwise she could not stand on her knees for long, but having received a piece of food, she would go down on one hand.

August 6, 1922

It was noticed that when, instead of biscuits or sweets, any drink like milk which she could not raise to her mouth with her hands, was placed on the table, she just bent her neck and lowered her mouth to the plate in the same manner as lapping.

From this time, we stopped giving her anything on the floor. We made nineteen small tables two feet and two and one-half feet high for Kamala and the crawling babies, and regularly placed their food on those tables. The babies and Kamala commenced taking their food from the tables, all kneeling.

August 19, 1922

It was noticed that Kamala took up her plate, placed it on the ground, and began to eat with her mouth, lowering it down to the plate on the ground and not using her hand.

Appetite

Kamala had a ravenous appetite and would eat and drink to the full capacity of her stomach. At times she ate so much that she became sick, and we had to stop her food. If she showed signs of appetite after this, then only liquid diet was given. She had a great appetite for meat. But unfortunately, we had stopped meat altogether. We never found her killing any animal or bird in the house. But if she found any dead animal or bird, whether in the house or in the maidān,¹ she would grab it at once.

September 2, 1922

Not only did she eat carrion, but she even attacked the vultures and crows and drove them from a carcass in the field on this date. After driving them away, she commenced eating the meat very ferociously. At times, she dragged the dead body to and fro, and if the vultures approached it, she drove them away again and again, with a peculiar harsh noise proceeding from the mouth and nose.

March 6, 1922

Before this, it was noticed, when she found a dead chicken lying in the courtyard, that she at once took it in her mouth and ran out on all fours so quickly that she could not be overtaken. She hid herself inside the lantana bushes, and was not found till she herself came out after finishing the chicken. A feather and particles of meat were found on her lips and on the sides of her cheek. Mrs. Singh caught hold of her and asked her about it with endearments which Kamala understood, and she nodded her head to say "yes."

September 14, 1922

This day, when Kamala was taken out early in the morning, she was found running to a distance in search of something. We did not mind her running in the field like that; but after some time when we approached a bush, we found her busy biting a big bone, rubbing it at times to separate the meat from it, and producing a harsh sound. I wanted to snatch away the bone, but she looked at me with great ferocity.

April 9, 1923

She was very fond of sweets, biscuits, chocolates, and cakes. After a

¹ This term is applied to any flat, open space of ground. Formerly they were often used as parade grounds. (R. R. Gates)

time, she used to follow Mrs. Singh or Miss Singh like the crawling babies for sweets and cakes. When Mrs. Singh opened the meat safe, Kamala came crawling to her side and pointed with her right hand to the jar containing some cakes. She stood in such a manner, pressing the door that the door could not be shut, and Mrs. Singh had to yield and give her a piece of cake. On receipt of the piece, she went away hurriedly to eat it. The babies, finding the piece in her hand, followed her, but she showed her temper by producing a sound and rolling her eyes in a peculiar fashion, to discourage them from following her. She quietly sat in her corner and ate it, nor did she leave the corner till she had finished.

May 17, 1922

She did not like salt at all. This day Kamala found the meat safe open, and there was some dried salted fish in a plate inside it. She took out a big piece from the plate, but dropped it on her way to her corner. We thought she had dropped it accidentally, and I picked it up and brought it to her in her corner. I offered it to her, but she turned her face away from it. I offered it again, but she refused to accept it. Then I dropped the piece near her. We found afterwards that it lay there untouched.

June 11, 1923

Another time a piece of salt meat was offered to her. She took a bite and then dropped it on the ground and moved away from me to her corner.

April 9, 1921

Prior to this, when Amala was alive, this very thing had been tested and both had left the pieces in their plates on the ninth of April, 1921.

April 3, 1921

Kamala was not only fond of sweets, but if she found her milk and barley not sufficiently sweetened with sugar, she would refuse it.

June 20, 1923, and June 21, 1923

Kamala had a great appetite for fried eggs. Once on the twentieth of June, 1923, she came by herself to Mrs. Singh at the table, and as usual she stretched out her hand to get something. A piece of egg was given to her with a biscuit; she received both all right, but kept the biscuit and ate the egg slowly with great relish. I asked Mrs. Singh to give her an egg at teatime. Kamala became a regular member of the tea table. She

would crawl and patiently wait till she got her egg from me every morning. An egg was ordered for her every morning from the twenty-first of June, 1923.

November 19, 1920

At the beginning, her attitude while eating was ferocious. Amala was somewhat less of the same nature. On this day, Kamala had gone to the dogs to eat with them, and Amala followed. To our astonishment, the dogs, who generally get ferocious at the time of their dinner at 4 p.m. every day, did not growl at Kamala. Fearing that Amala would be attacked by the dogs, we prevented her from going to them. But Kamala we could not, on account of her ferocious nature at that time.

Kamala and the dogs ate from the same plate whenever she got a chance of approaching them at such a time.



Amala and Kamala asleep overlapping

Mode of Sleeping—December 16, 1920

From the very beginning it was noticed that Amala and Kamala used to sleep like pigs when lying in a litter, overlapping one another. This was first noticed (as soon as Kamala got cured of her sores) on the above date.

December 14 and 15, 1920

While they were sleeping separately during illness, they always slept with bent legs, bringing the knees up to the chest. This was first noticed on the fourteenth of December, 1920. Even while sleeping on their back, they used to bring their knees up to their chest. This was noticed on the fifteenth of December, 1920.

August 13, 1923

The first time Kamala was seen sleeping with outstretched legs was on this date.

November 5, 1920

Kamala always snored while sleeping, and so did Amala. Both Kamala and Amala used to grind their teeth while sleeping, and at times used to howl. The howling during sleeping was first heard during illness on the above date.

Both of them used to lie down sometimes at noon, and from 10 p.m. to 12 p.m. if they liked. Otherwise, they kept awake the whole day, only they were sometimes found dozing while sitting in their corner.

CHAPTER XIV

Activity—August 12, 1922

KAMALA's chief activity at this time was very prominent. She loved to pull the punkah.¹ She was caught pulling it by herself on this day. From this time we permitted her to do what she liked. She used to come whenever she liked and sit for hours to pull the punkah. This willing offer of hers relieved the punkah-puller a good deal.

She used to roam about with us in the maidān early in the morning freely with the favorite cat or a young dog who used to follow us with Kamala.

September 14, 1923

On this date Kamala was caught meddling with the lock of the meat safe.

October 21, 1923

Kamala used to accompany the babies in their strolls on the path inside the garden whenever she liked. She used to come herself; we never forced her to do this. She came out with the babies for the first time on this date.

December 2, 1923

Kamala tried to force open the kitchen door, but failed.

December 29, 1923

If a piece of raw meat was shown to Kamala and thrown as far as possible, Kamala would be sure to find it by her instinct. Noticed first on this date.

When she wanted to run fast she always used to go on all fours. But when she wanted to go slowly, she crawled.

¹ A large cloth on a frame. It fans the air by being swung to and fro by pulling a cord. (R. R. Gates)

August 30, 1922

Kamala took a fancy to swinging, but she was not secure in swinging. Later on, Kamala learned to swing daily with the babies and other children, by turns. Kamala used to crawl down to the swing and wait there



Kamala coming out with the babies for a stroll

till she was invited by the children; then she used to be delighted and crawl up to it at once. All this was noticed for the first time on the above date.

October 18, 1923

Kamala was found peeping into the well, leaning against the pavement round the well, hanging her legs down on the sides.

September 18, 1923

Kamala was purposely left outside the house. At this time, she did not like so much as formerly to be out at night. After some time, at about 11:30 p.m., when she found out that everyone had entered the house and the doors were closed, she moved from door to door to get an entrance into the rooms. She found all the doors closed from the inside, and she could not get in. She moved up and down for some time, and at last she came to the entrance (to the inside courtyard) and commenced scratching the door with her finger nails. Afterwards when she found the door was not opened, she began to howl.

December 5, 1923

Some pulse had been spread out in the sun, and the poultry and crows commenced picking it up. Kamala watched them for some time; then at last she came to the mat on which the pulse was spread, and then finding the birds coming to pick up the grain again, she drove them away. Kamala became quite useful in this way.

January 7, 1924

The cat had caught hold of a pigeon and was running away with it. A hue and cry was raised, and it attracted Kamala's notice. Coming out, she found the cat running away with the pigeon in its mouth. All the children followed the cat, and so did Kamala. The cat hid from place to place, and Kamala followed at her heels. At last we found that Kamala had rescued the pigeon, almost dead. She brought the pigeon and dropped it in the courtyard. Kamala did not share it with the cat, and she gained our confidence little by little this way.

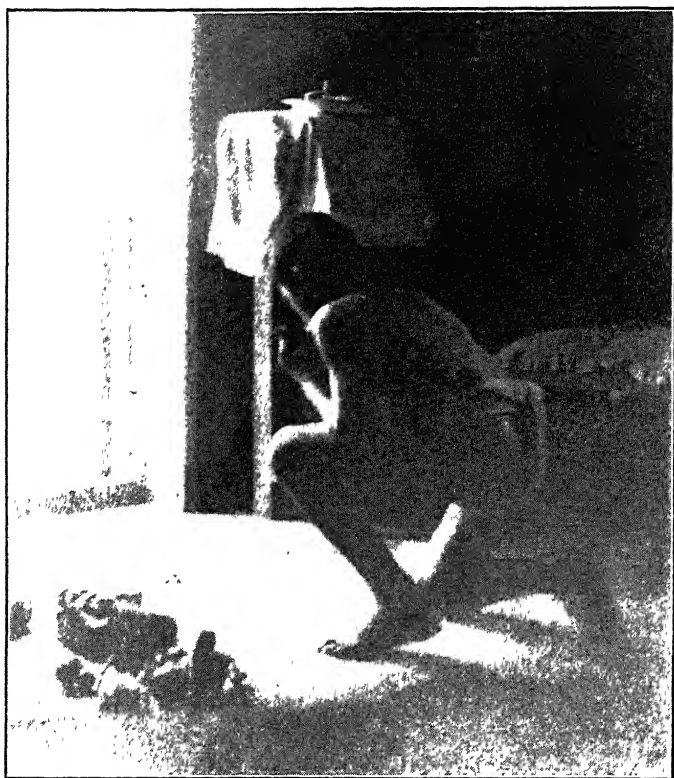
May 13, 1923

There was a rooster among the fowls who was a great fighter and very ferocious. He used to chase the little children and sometimes grown-up men too. He used to be caged during the day, except for three hours. On this day, Kamala got into the cage while he was out. A little while after, the rooster turned up and entered the cage. But it did not do any harm to Kamala. The bird came close up to Kamala and she patted it with her left hand on its back. They remained friends till the bird died.

June 17, 1923

The top was a puzzle to Kamala. She would watch the top whirling, while the boys were playing with it. At times, she would catch it while

it was turning round and examine it thoroughly. She would throw it down, trying to make it go round, but when she found the top did not spin, she would get angry and bite it. This was first noticed on the above date.



Kamala biting the top

January 9, 1924

It was noticed on the night of the ninth of January, 1924, that Kamala followed us into the field with some sort of fear in her attitude. She was not so willing to accompany us at that hour in the open field, but she appeared to come grudgingly. We did not carry any light except a torch. She was found to be suspicious and hesitated to move along. She behaved just like a baby of one and one-half years or so. She looked this side and that, and kept very close to us. She was no longer the same Kamala who

had moved with the wolves in the dark. Now she had become timid and expected danger at such hours. This was a great change.

January 22, 1924

One of the children came to me and said that Kamala was very angry and would not come to eat her food. At this period, Mrs. Singh was absent in Calcutta. I went in and found Kamala sitting in her corner, very much displeased to all appearances. I approached her and called her name to make known to her my presence, but she did not move nor even look at me. I went on calling her name, making my tone as affectionate as I could. At last after fifteen or twenty minutes, she looked up. Her expression and the movements of her eyes clearly showed that she was displeased. I asked her at once where Mama was and she looked up again. I could see that she was anxious. I placed my hand affectionately on her and said, "I know these children are troubling you; they are very naughty." I invited her to come to her food, and she obeyed after a great deal of coaxing. During Mrs. Singh's absence, Kamala became morose again and somewhat peevish.

January 28, 1924

Mrs. Singh returned on this date. As soon as Kamala heard that Mama had come, she rushed out on all fours to her side and came close up to her, rubbing her body against Mrs. Singh's thighs and turning round and round; Mrs. Singh patted her, caught hold of her chin and kissed her, and showed her affection in tone, gesture, and posture. Kamala walked by her side and left me unnoticed. Now Kamala was jolly and no longer morose or peevish.

CHAPTER XV

Nature—November 18, 1924

It has already been noticed that Kamala did not like to stay outside the house at night, but we could not be certain that she was afraid to stay out at night. Now I wanted to find out whether her fearless nature at night had undergone a change. On this day, we carelessly left Kamala outside, and the inner compound¹ door was closed. She had come along with us from the field, but some smell must have attracted her instinct to run in that direction, and we had not noticed it. She tried her best to open the door by force, to get in, but failed. Then she commenced howling, but we took no notice. Then there was a lull. I came out and searched for her all over the compound and found that she had got into a haystack. I waited stealthily to watch her. I found that every time the dogs barked, she stealthily uttered a shrill cry and peeped out, coming from her hiding place a bit, but did not come out to the door. She again ran into her place of shelter and concealed herself. This went on for some time, and I understood that she was extremely frightened.

To verify this fact, I called her; and Kamala, instead of shunning my company, now sought it, and jumped out to come to me. I talked to her kindly and took her up and carried her inside. To all appearances, she was very much pleased. When I dropped her down inside the inner compound, she commenced moving towards the dormitory and closely watched to see if I were following her; whenever I stopped, she also stopped and looked back. I followed her to her bed, and Mrs. Singh attended to her with motherly affection.

October 6, 1925

Kamala always urinated inside the room, or wherever she happened to be at the time, as mentioned before. On this occasion, we noticed a change. She got up and went to the dormitory bathroom to pass urine. After this,

¹ The grounds surrounding a house, usually an enclosure. (R. R. Gates)

we found that she always did this whenever Mrs. Singh or myself happened to be present; at other times, she invariably did it inside the room as before.

September 27, 1925

At this period, between the year 1925 and 1926, Kamala's taste for food changed a good deal. It was noticed that her taste for salt developed gradually. She had never liked salt. On this date, it was noticed that one of the children asked for salt, and Mrs. Singh gave him a pinch; Kamala was watching while taking her breakfast. Mrs. Singh asked Kamala if she too wanted some salt; she did not say anything, but simply looked up at her in a peculiar manner, which was very difficult to understand. However, Mrs. Singh wanted to find out what she meant and feigned to drop a pinch of salt in her plate. Kamala, after tasting, found that nothing had dropped, and she looked up again. This time Mrs. Singh understood clearly that she wanted salt, and she actually dropped a few grains of salt onto her plate. Kamala was very pleased and hurriedly mixed those grains of salt into her food with both hands, one after the other, and showed great satisfaction in eating it.

It should be mentioned here that her greed for meat, both raw and cooked, remained almost the same as mentioned before.

December 19, 1926

It was noticed that Kamala stealthily ate raw meat, somehow managing to enter the kitchen.

Summer, 1926

Kamala's behavior at her bath had changed a good deal. We have seen that Kamala at first did not like water at all. But now, during the summer of 1926, she had become somewhat tame at the time of bathing. True enough, she refused to come to the tub or reservoir, but when water was taken out of them and brought to her, she used to handle it just like a baby at its bath, playing with water—taking out water from the mug with the palms of her hands and spilling it on the ground and on her body here and there.

Showing Temper at Repeated Questions

Her behavior showed a good deal of change when she began to understand our language a little. Whenever she was asked anything, if she liked to answer she did so; but if not, nothing could induce her to reply, and

she would turn her attention to something else, or go away. This was the case before, but now with the progress of her power of understanding, she commenced to show her dislike by facial expressions, from which it could be distinctly understood that she was getting annoyed by intelligently following the drift of the question, i.e., she had become conversant with our mode of conveying our wishes by our expression in words. She had begun to understand language.

January 20, 1927

On this date she was asked to come out with the babies to the maidān, but she did not show any willingness to come, and remained rooted to the spot. Mrs. Singh went to her several times to persuade her lovingly, but she did not move from the place where she was. When this persuasion was continued for some time, her face changed color, showing that she was getting annoyed at the repetition of the persuasion. She was left alone, and she remained where she was for nearly two hours all by herself. After this, she quietly moved from the spot and went into the dormitory. When the dinner bell was rung, it was found that she was quite calm and sobered down. As usual, she came out and presented herself to Mrs. Singh with the babies. Dinner was served and they all commenced eating.

Courage or Fear

As noticed before, both Kamala and Amala never had any such thing as fear in them. They were never afraid to go out at night; rather they liked the darkness of night better than the light of the day.

May 29, 1928

But now things changed a good deal. Kamala did not like to go out at night. This was noticed on the twenty-ninth of May, 1928. It went to show clearly that now the animal courage of Kamala had disappeared in her sober human state of mind.

May 7, 1926

When she got angry she used to forget herself so much that the loss of courage was not at all visible. She would do that which she dared not do when she was sober. This was noticed on the seventh of May, 1926, for the first time. This change of nature developed gradually to that of a timid human child of six or seven years of age.

Irritation

When Kamala was weak, she used to get irritated very soon; but as her health got better, this irritation disappeared. She became a sweet child and very obedient. Whatever she was asked to do—whether she could do it or not—she always followed the children in attempting to tackle it, and was always ready to engage herself in action; but if she failed in her attempt, then she used to be very cross and glum.

July 17, 1928

We took all the children and Kamala to the maidān in the morning and heavy rain came on. We all got wet. The children could not run as fast as Kamala on all fours, and we had to lag behind and get wet. Kamala ran in quickly, but came out again to meet us; this she repeated several times to find that we could not get in with her and were getting wet. Kamala got irritated to such an extent that when we came in long after Kamala had gotten in, we found her in a corner; and if any of the children went to her, she waved her hand roughly at them to drive them away.

August 10, 1928

Kamala wanted the swing before the others, but as Mrs. Singh had one child up on the swing and was swinging her, Kamala could not get the swing to herself; and she got so irritated that she did not come to the swing that whole evening.

The swing was a novelty to her, and seeing the cat swing from the branch of a tree and the babies made to swing by Mrs. Singh, she was so attracted to the swing that she got actually irritated, and became so head-strong that she gave up the idea of swinging that evening.

It appears from the above and other facts that Kamala's temper was getting modified from the animal idea of pleasure and ferocity to that of human enjoyment or displeasure, resulting in a mild and modified form of conduct.

It was found at this period that Kamala commenced to take pleasure in certain things which she liked, one of these being the pulling of the punkah of her own accord.

In spite of occasional irritation, her progress towards the human side of her being advanced but slowly from the previous stage of her life. During her nine years' stay with us, she came to a more normal state of humanity, as will appear more clearly later on.

Conduct towards Animals and Men

It could be clearly seen from her life that her animal courage was giving place to human timidity and that she was being attracted to the novelties in her life, such as the swing, etc. All this clearly showed that the dormant qualities of humanity were commencing to grow. All that had been so long animal was now giving place to what was human. This was the crisis in Kamala's life and being. She was a learner now and not an animal with the wolves in the jungle. Her taste, too, underwent a sharp change, as noticed in her liking for salt, which she did not like before. The only defect that remained in her was that she could not run even like a child of two or three years. Her progress in other respects was quite visible, but with regard to locomotion, it remained without any improvement after she learned to stand.

June 10, 1923

The task of making her stand on her two legs like a human child took several years. Kamala first stood on the tenth of June, 1923, but could never run, although we tried our utmost to get her to run on two legs like us, at least like a baby of two years old.

On all fours she could run, but not when she was upright. It is my surmise that if the locomotion of her legs had taken a visible change, then her progress in habits, taste, and inquisitiveness like a learner would not have grown at all. This defect in her legs gave her the opportunity to grow slowly as a human child.

Eight years' stay with the wolves, and in that animal environment and circumstance, meant that she had been brought up as an animal with all the modifications necessary to adapt herself to such a life, even though they were impossible for a human child in human environment and circumstances. These became to her a necessity, and she became an animal to all intents and purposes, without developing the human side of her being.

These human faculties, both in body and intellect, were quite dormant during those eight years from her very infancy. To make her a human child again meant a strong fight with the acquired habits which had to be thrown away and omitted altogether. When she came to that stage of life in association with us, then only did it become possible for her to begin this human life, that is, she had to begin life from her very infancy over again.

First of all, her dislike to all that was human presented itself in a very

strong form, as we have seen before, and then gradually and very very slowly, it changed into a liking, and then the pleasure in that liking attracted her to new things and actions so that she acquired new knowledge and new practice to the making up of a different life altogether. All this came to pass during her stay with us during those years from 1920 to 1929.



Kamala standing up for the first time

Before this, she used to love everything animal, but now a change came over her, brought on by different means coupled with Mrs. Singh's affectionate and motherly nursing of her and the presence of young children for her example. All these played a prominent part in making her like a human child.

These children and Mrs. Singh's practice of massaging her played a wonderful part throughout these nine years, and led to a progress towards the human side of her being which could hardly have been expected at the beginning.

Her association with the animals, such as the kids in the house, gave place gradually to a liking, first of all for Mrs. Singh, and then for the children themselves. This was the turning point. The intellectual changes and the perceivable effects on her mind of various sorts of pleasures which gradually interested her, helped to influence her body also.

Heat or Cold—January 29, 1926

As noticed before, climatic changes at first had no effect on her. Like an animal, she did not feel cold in the depth of winter, but on this date, it was found that she liked her blanket, as she did not throw it off at night. After this, she could be covered up with her wrapper both in the morning and evening, like the babies themselves, and she did not object to it as before.

The change of clothes in the morning and evening was a signal for her to go out for a stroll in the maidān, like the babies. She used to be very glad at this time to accompany them. In these strolls, she sometimes walked on her two legs, and sometimes when she wanted to go faster, she would go either on her knees and hands, or on all fours.

June 18, 1927

She always preferred red clothes to those of any other color. White color she did not like at all. She used to pick up her own clothes from among those of the children when placed in a heap after they had been washed and dried in the sun. She picked up all her clothes in this way for the first time on the eighteenth of June, 1927. This happened in the following way. The clothes were washed in the morning and put out in the sun. They used to be collected in the afternoon, and the children had to collect their respective clothes and take them for ironing. Kamala, finding them thus busy, took a fancy to collect her own frocks, etc., in the same manner. At first she could not find all her clothing, and the children helped her; but gradually she managed to get them all right, and if the children meddled with her in so finding the clothes, she used to get wild.

September 13, 1926

Any day Kamala could not find her clothes in the heap was a bad day for her and the babies. She would throw all the clothes hither and thither,

not permitting any child to pick up her own clothes till she had found hers. This actually happened on the thirteenth of September, 1926. Kamala's frocks and pajamas had been taken by Mrs. Singh direct to the ironing table without Kamala's knowing, and finding that her clothes



Kamala walking by herself

were not in the heap, she got annoyed and behaved very angrily. On hearing this, Mrs. Singh came in and showed Kamala her frocks and she was pacified.

Now Kamala's habits changed a little. Whether it was cold or warm Kamala had learned to wear her frock. She would never go out to the field without her frock. She could remain at home without her frock, but she felt she needed it at the time of her stroll in the field, dressed up just like the babies.

At the time of her bath Kamala behaved better than before. She would permit water to be poured on her, in summer, but in winter she cultivated a liking for tepid water. She was not afraid of water at this period, but still she would not go near a tub or a reservoir. The water must be brought away from them to a distant place for her bath.

October 16, 1926

She permitted soap now, and the froth of the soap she used to lick up from her body and eat. This peculiarity was noticed first on the sixteenth of October, 1926. To stop this practice Mrs. Singh used to put some quinine into the water and then bath her. Kamala, finding the taste bitter, refrained from licking the soap froth.

CHAPTER XVI

Intellect—The Power of Understanding

Progress in 1925

KAMALA's power of understanding showed a marked progress in 1925, the fifth year after her rescue in 1920. She gained the idea of color and always preferred red. She knew some of the babies by their names. Although she could not say the name, yet when asked about someone who was named to her, if it was the child meant, she used to nod, but if it was not, she used to shake her head.

Kamala knew her plate and she used to refuse any other plate brought to her. Now Kamala had commenced drinking from a glass, and she knew her glass among all the others.

February 28, 1926

Kamala could tell whether her food had sufficient salt or not. On this day, some roasted meat was served to Kamala and the other children. Kamala did not wait for the grace to be said, and commenced to bite at the meat. A bite was enough for her to push it away and sit still. After the grace was said, and the children had begun to eat, it was found that the cook had forgotten to put salt in the meat. The children clamored for salt, but Kamala sat quiet and watched. Mrs. Singh put some salt in each plate, and when she came to Kamala, she at once lifted her plate to Mrs. Singh to receive the salt from her.

January 14, 1926

When Kamala had her bath in winter, she would first of all put her hand into the water to see whether it was sufficiently warm, before she permitted the water to be poured on her. If she found the water was not hot enough, she would move away and stand or sit apart till she saw that some hot water had been poured in. This first happened on the above date.

June 7, 1926

The dinner bell had a peculiar attraction for Kamala. She would run on all fours as quickly as she could from any distance, the moment she heard the bell. She came running like this on the seventh of June, 1926, leaving the other children and Mrs. Singh far behind. Unfortunately, when she came to the dining room, she found the meal on the table but no one to deal it out for her and the children. So she at once ran back to Mrs. Singh, and commenced pushing her and slapping her gently. Mrs. Singh feigned that she could not understand what she meant by all that. Kamala, finding that Mrs. Singh could not understand, ran back to the dining room again. This she repeated several times, and after some time Mrs. Singh exclaimed, "Oh! Kamala, you wanted me to give you your dinner," and she nodded her head and walked ahead of her on her legs, leading her to the dining room.

October 10, 1926

A baby had a fall near the gate, and her knees were bleeding. Noticing this, Kamala ran in and behaved in the same manner as has just been mentioned, inducing Mrs. Singh to come to the spot. By now Mrs. Singh could understand Kamala better than anyone else in the house, and she followed Kamala to see what had happened. She found the child who had had a severe fall and attended to her, and Kamala looked very pleased. At this period Kamala showed a remarkable attachment towards the babies, and in her own way tried to look after them in the field and at home.

In these and other instances it became clear that Kamala's power of understanding, and the consequent requirement for action, was developing gradually, though slowly. It was hoped that someday in the near future Kamala would be reclaimed as a human child.

The Power of Expression—January 23, 1926

Kamala's face brightened up on hearing that Mrs. Singh had come back from a few days change at Ranchi. The expression on her face distinctly manifested an expression of joy. She ran out on all fours to meet her with the words "Ma Elo" meaning "Mama come." She caught hold of Mrs. Singh's hand and walked very slowly on her two legs. Mrs. Singh also walked very very slowly to permit Kamala to saunter along. Kamala did not permit any other children to come so close to Mrs. Singh or to hold her hand. She went on jabbering many broken words like a prattling

baby, trying to express all that had happened during her absence; most of this prattle could not be understood at all.

September 21, 1922

Before, Kamala could not weep, nor bring about the expression of sorrow in her face. On this date, when Amala died, only two drops of tears fell from Kamala's eyes, and no change of expression on the face was noticeable to make one understand that Kamala was actually weeping.

Year 1926

Time had passed, and Kamala's habits had changed since the day of her rescue. In 1926 Kamala was a different person altogether. When she talked, some expression was always visible on her face, accompanied by some movements of the limbs and body. These movements were the sure signs of all that was passing in her mind on such occasions, and which she wanted to express in words; but unfortunately her vocabulary was very limited, and hence she had unconsciously to make some signs, and nature granted her these movements in her body and limbs, and distinct expressions on her face.

It was now possible to understand her to a certain extent through these expressions on her face and the movements of her limbs and body. She could point out things of which she did not know the names, and thus could express herself in daily life. If she found that we could not understand her, she would go to the thing itself and touch it to signify what she meant.

February 9, 1926

It so happened that Mrs. Singh had sent Kamala and a child named Saraju, nine years old, to me to ask for a rupee. Saraju was distinctly told privately simply to watch Kamala and not to say anything, but to report what she did on that errand. Mrs. Singh had told Kamala to get the rupee in the presence of other children. Kamala ran on all fours and came to the office, where I was engaged in writing. Kamala came and stood there for some time. I did not know then what the children had come for, as they were accustomed to visit me often in the office. She got tired of waiting. She came very near and struck hard at the door of the table drawer. I was seated by it at the table. The sound at once drew my attention, and I looked at her; she gave another blow to the door. I asked her what she wanted. She did not say anything, but simply pointed to the keyhole of the door. I understood her and took out my key and put

it in the keyhole. The door was opened. Now she again pointed to the inner keyhole of the drawer. I opened that too. After this, Kamala pointed to the moneybag in it. I asked her whether she wanted that bag. She nodded to say "yes," and I handed over the bag to her. She at once ran with it on all fours. I called Saraju and told her to watch Kamala with the bag. I followed slowly. I found Kamala with Mrs. Singh. I asked Mrs. Singh why Kamala wanted the bag. She told me everything. I did not take the bag from Mrs. Singh, but told her by a sign to send it back to me through Kamala. I left the place, and went to the garden. Kamala followed me to the garden, and came back to the office with me, put the bag on the table, and went away.

February 19, 1926

Kamala was sent to the kitchen to a grown-up girl of the Orphanage, named Khiroda, to ask her to bring the children's milk. Kamala went there and said "Doo" and touched Khiroda, pointing to the dining-room door. Khiroda understood her and brought the milk, and reported what Kamala had said and done in the kitchen to make her understand what she wanted. Kamala looked very pleased when she came with Khiroda into the dining room.

Other cases, such as asking for salt, calling Mrs. Singh to deal out the meal, calling her to the gate to see the hurt child, drawing her attention to the moon, are all the expressions of a child trying to make itself understood. Kamala as a growing child gradually came to the common human stage of infancy when she could express herself in signs, but could not do so in words.

December 6, 1926

On this date, it was clearly seen that Kamala had grown in her knowledge of "human" bashfulness. In the morning when she got up, she wore only her loincloth and was covered with a blanket at night. This day she did not wish to leave the dormitory. Mrs. Singh, thinking that she felt cold, gave her a shawl to cover her, expecting her to come out, but she did not leave her bed, and angrily threw away the shawl. Mrs. Singh could not understand her. At this time Kamala uttered the broken word "Fok" and jumped out of her bed, pulled out her red pajama and frock, and brought them to Mrs. Singh. She understood at once and put them on Kamala, who very willingly came out and mixed with the children to go out for a stroll.

CHAPTER XVII

Vocabulary

THE vocabulary of Kamala consisted of thirty words up to 1926. Her first vocabulary, as we have seen, was only a cry, or a howl like an animal, which was neither human nor animal but only a peculiar shrill and piercing sound.

November 27, 1922

At the time when they felt hungry or thirsty, both Kamala and Amala used to utter only the sound "Bhoo, Bhoo," and we got to understand that they were hungry or thirsty. In order to make clear to us what Kamala wanted, she used to go to the water pitcher or the milk kettle when thirsty. This was first noticed on the twenty-seventh of November, 1922. When hungry, they both used to remain where they were and utter the sound repeatedly. Beyond this they had no language to make themselves understood to us.

December 15, 1923

On this day, it was noticed that Kamala copied the sound "Hoo Hoo Hoo" which the Orphanage children used to utter on account of the severe cold which they felt when not properly covered. Kamala took this sound up and began to utter this frequently without meaning anything in particular. This went on for some time. Now Kamala used to nod for "yes" and shake her head from side to side to mean "no," but could not pronounce these two words.

December 30, 1923

When breakfast was being served and the children were asked who wanted more rice, some said "yes" and some said "no." When Mrs. Singh came to Kamala and asked her whether she wanted more rice, she at once nodded her head and uttered "Hoo," meaning "yes." This word

"Hoo" is akin to "Ha," meaning "yes" in Bengali. After this, Kamala always said "Hoo" when she meant "yes."

January 6, 1924

A child had a severe cut on her leg, and when the wound was being dressed, he was crying and struggling to free himself. He produced the sound "Na, Na, Na," and so on, as he could not bear the dressing. When he got a little better, the other children began to tease him by repeating his cry "Na, Na, Na." Kamala did not join in the teasing, but in her own time and in her own way began to repeat "Na, Na, Na," to herself and got accustomed to it.

January 19, 1924

Kamala had a fall and sprained her wrist. When the sprain was being rubbed and massaged with embrocation, she commenced uttering the cry "Na, Na, Na." It was another instance of the imitation which Kamala was gradually developing in pronouncing words.

January 20, 1924

Kamala found that her bath water was very hot, and she hid herself in a corner. When Mrs. Singh approached her, she at once began to shout "Na, Na, Na." Mrs. Singh caused the bucket containing the water, which had now been made sufficiently cold, to be brought to Kamala to show her that it had been made fit for her bath, and affectionately in many loving and coaxing words made her see that the water was not as hot as she had found it at first. Kamala dipped her hand in again, smiled, and left the corner for the bath. After this, whenever she did not like anything, she would cry "Na, Na, Na," meaning "No." Thus Kamala was found to be trying to grasp at the words with their meaning to understand, and to make herself understood.

January 29, 1924

The fourth word "Bhā" she produced all by herself. All on a sudden at breakfast when the rice was being served, Kamala commenced saying "Bhā, Bhā, Bhā," and said it on and on all the while till she began to eat. "Bhāt" in Bengali means rice.

February 18, 1924

This word "Bhā" was followed by another kindred word "Bhāl," meaning in English "all right." Whenever anyone asked her how she was,

she at once said "Bhāl," meaning to say "all right." This became a very peculiar word with her, because once she said "Bhāl," she went on repeating this word for some time. During the repetition of this word, if anyone asked her any other question, the reply invariably was "Bhāl." It was very difficult to understand what she meant by such a reply. This happened on the eighteenth of February, 1924, for the first time.

February 21, 1924

At this time, it was found that Kamala had learned to assert herself in a very mild form. She had learned to know her clothes, especially the showy-colored ones, in addition to the red color, which gained the highest place in her mind. If any of the children took a red cloth, Kamala would at once jump on her and snatch it away, meaning to show that no one except herself had any right to the red-colored cloth. She would never part with it, whether it belonged to her or not. She did this first of all on the above date.

Hearing constantly the talk about Kamala's clothes from the children and their repetition of the word "red" with regard to her clothes, some idea got into her mind; and whenever the word "red" was said, Kamala at once turned her eyes to the child who uttered it.

February 22, 1924

When some new clothes were being distributed among the children, Kamala was asked first which frock she would have. On hearing this question, Kamala pulled out a red frock. Mrs. Singh asked her why she wanted this frock. She at once replied in a drawn-out expression, "L-a-l" (the Bengali word for "red"). This was sufficient to show that she understood what she meant.

February 28, 1924

At dinner time, when Kamala was asked if she wanted anything, she at once uttered "Bha" meaning "rice."

February 29, 1924

Some of the children were taken to form a line, and Kamala was one of them. Mrs. Singh told them beforehand to say "Āmi" (meaning "I") one by one, from the first child in the line to the last. There were seventeen children in the line. Every child uttered "Āmi" successively, and when it came to Kamala's turn, she said "Ām."

March 2, 1924, and March 11, 1924

After this, it was found that Kamala was learning the first letter of some of the children's names, especially those who used to associate with her frequently. She was asked the name of Saraju, and she answered "Soo" pointing to Saraju. This showed clearly that Kamala was trying her best to learn the names of persons and things, but her defective tongue failed to bring out the clear phonetic sound. In this way Kamala uttered "Toom" for "Toomy" in Bengali (for "I am" in English). This was on the eleventh of March, 1924. During the year 1927, Kamala could call almost all the children by the first letter, or the first two letters of their names.

February 10, 1927

At the beginning of the year 1927, on the tenth of February, it was noticed by Mrs. Singh that Kamala had entered the Orphanage bathroom and was not coming out. Mrs. Singh hastened to the bathroom and found that Kamala had been out for a movement, and after passing stools outside had come into the bathroom and was trying to wash herself by taking water from a bucket which held water. From this time, Kamala always tried to wash herself on these occasions, but could not do it perfectly well, and Mrs. Singh always had to help her.

Before Kamala could utter anything, the word "Ma" came naturally to her. She would call out "Ma" to Mrs. Singh, and then hide herself in a corner. This utterance and her behavior clearly manifested that she was commencing to like our society. In this way, when Kamala began to mix with the children freely, her vocabulary also increased rapidly day by day.

March 13, 1924

When Kamala was asked by Dewly, a girl of the Orphanage, whether she would go with her to gather fruit from the garden, she replied saying "Jab" (for "Jabo" in Bengali). The next day when the same question was asked her by another girl named Parul, she at once said "Ām-jab" (for "āmi jabo" in Bengali and "I will" in English).

At this stage of her life in our midst, we found that Kamala was giving up many of her wild habits, and at the same time cultivating the idea of replacing them by human qualities to form human habits. This fact was very encouraging to us, and we attended to Kamala much more day by day.

Decpaber, 1924

Kāmalā again fell ill, and we got very anxious about her. The illness was fever and dysentery. During this illness, she behaved just like a human baby three years old. She would not leave Mrs. Singh for a moment. She wanted her to attend to her all the while, and Mrs. Singh was also so much taken up by her that she did not care whether it was day or night, but was at her side all the time.

One peculiarity was especially noticed during this illness: her tongue became active, and she commenced talking in a fashion that amazed us all immensely. Though the words were broken, yet she expressed herself in a wonderful way.

We found that her vocabulary increased by leaps and bounds, with small sentences. The following is a list of the important words she used with their Bengali and English equivalents. This list was kept from the very beginning.

<i>Kamala's Words</i>	<i>Bengali Equivalents</i>	<i>English Equivalents</i>
Ud	Ashud	Medicine
Doo	Dudh	Milk
Bhā	Bhāt	Rice
Dāl	Dāl	Pea Soup
Moor	Muri	Parched rice
Rut	Roti	Loaf or Chapatty
Māng	Māngsa	Meat
Mug	Murghi	Fowl
Foo	Phul	Flower
Gā	Gāch	Tree
Koo	Kukūr	Dog
Pār	Paira	Pigeon
Inoo	Indūr	Mouse
Thā	Thāla	Plate
Gās	Gelāsh	Glass
Hut	Hāth	Hand
Dim	Dim	Egg
Khel	Khalena	Toy
Pāk	Pākhi	Bird
Go	Goru	Cow
Cha	Chagulo	Goat
Bil	Biral	Cat

<i>Kamala's Words</i>	<i>Bengali Equivalents</i>	<i>English Equivalents</i>
Pān	Pān	Betel leaf ¹
Zo	Jāl	Water
Maz	Mach	Fish
Ain	A-inah	Mirror
Fök	Farak	Frock
Chui	Churi	Knife
Bat	Bati	Cup
Puz	Pyjamah	Pajama
Chăd	Chădor	Wrapper
Toop	Topi	Cap
Aoo	Alu	Potato
Pāz	Piyāz	Onion
Ghoi	Gharu	Clock
Cho-Ghoi	Chota Gharu	Timepiece
Ball	Bāl	Ball
Choi	Chobi	Picture
Gho	Ghora	Horse
Go-Gā	Goru Gāri	Bullock Cart
Gho-Ga	Ghora Gāri	Horse carriage
Koo	Kua	Well
Bāg	Baghān	Garden
Bak	Baksa	Box
Joot	Juta	Shoe

Thus the vocabulary of Kamala went on increasing from the time of her illness till the end of her life.

After a few days, Kamala got all right, and a Thank Offering Service was held in which Kamala joined. She knelt down in the line with the other children at the service, and behaved admirably.

From now on, it was invariably noticed that she wanted to be dressed like the other children before going out for a stroll both evening and morning; this clearly showed that she had acquired the habit of wearing clothes, and did not like to be naked as before.

December 19, 1924

She used to put on her pajamas over her loincloth, and her frock over

¹ The leaf of *Piper Betle* L. It is widely used in India with lime and areca nut (*Areca catechu*, a palm) for chewing. It stimulates the saliva, colors the teeth dark brown and the saliva red. (R. R. Gates)

her pajamas. On this date it was thought necessary that her loincloth should be unripped and she would wear only the pajamas. Kamala was found very happy when the loincloth was unstitched and she helped Mrs. Singh in taking off and opening the cloth.

Here the loincloth needs some explanation, as it is found difficult to understand the mechanism as to how it was fastened, as it required constant opening out and refixing. There was a permanent band like a belt round the waist. A long, strong band of about three inches wide was first introduced through the belt in front and folded to bring it to an equal proportion at the other end, so that both the ends came together at the end. Thus making the band double, it was introduced into the belt behind the waist in the middle, and it was stitched at first, but later it was tucked up with two or three safety pins, so that it could not be opened out. Whenever it was wetted or was spoiled by passing stool, the band was immediately removed, replacing it with another, just like the removal of the babies' napkins on these occasions. The band was kept there very loose, of course.

When the loincloth was lying on the floor near her, a mischievous girl, Sisir Kumari by name, said, "Kamala must wear the 'langoti,'" meaning the loincloth. Kamala, on hearing this, got very much annoyed and quickly took up the fragments of the loincloth and ran out on all fours as quickly as she could, and threw them out at a great distance from the dormitory.

January 1, 1925

On this day Kamala was found talking to herself; she would talk as she went along or when she stood near a tree; she would talk to the tree; when inside the house, she would talk to the wall; and when playing with the toys, to the toys themselves. It was found out that these were not talks directly to those things, but simply a jabbering such as children are in the habit of making when at play to represent some circumstance or household matter which had impressed itself on their minds, without any particular intention or motive.

Year 1927

At this period of her life with us, Kamala made quicker progress than an average child in learning things and expressing them in words. By the year 1927 she could make us understand what she wanted by broken words, or signs, or by both.

January 14, 1927

To us it appeared that she was getting accustomed to words and small sentences, as is generally seen at home with prattling children. This was noticed for several days, but was definitely noticed on the fourteenth of January, 1927. It was found that her broken words gained distinct and clear utterance, and it was clear this practice of babbling added many more words and sentences to her vocabulary.

February 20, 1927

She left off this habit from the twentieth of February, 1927, and took up the habit of singing the words in her own way. From now on, for some time, she was in this singing mood. Whatever she was doing, she was always singing some words or other and was never quiet. At times, she used to be so much occupied with this habit of humming a word that she became totally inattentive to our call to her when she was wanted. Sometimes she used to be so much absorbed that we had to approach her and take her up by her hand, and only then would she stop her humming.

March 9, 1927

It was noticed at this time that Kamala joined in the singing in the service. In this singing mood of hers, she used to disturb the singing of the hymns very much.² At times, she used to shout at the top of her voice in a shrill irregular note.

March 12, 1927

Kamala, as a member of the Orphanage, was a pet of all. All the children loved her very much, and everyone in the house was ever ready to help her in any way he or she could, and she became accustomed to accepting such help occasionally, but not always. For instance, it was noticed on the twelfth of March, 1927, that Kamala could not tie the string of her pajamas, although she tried her utmost. She began to cry, but no one attempted to help her, as she did not want anyone's help in this. Most probably she was afraid that the children would take away her pajamas. Mrs. Singh she trusted, but since she was out, Kamala could not get her to do this job. She quietly came to me in the office and stood behind me, without my noticing her. Hearing a rustling noise behind me, I turned round and found that tears were rolling down Kamala's cheeks. I at once became alarmed, left my chair, and approached her. I found

² Another missionary-reared wolf-child disturbed the singing. See account on p. 160, fn. 22

that she was holding her pajamas in both her hands. I could not understand what was troubling her. Just then, a girl named Manica, finding that Kamala had come to me to have her pajamas tied up, came running to me and told me all that had happened and how Kamala had not permitted her to tie them up. I understood the whole situation and asked Manica to tie them up in my presence immediately, and not to take away her pajamas. Kamala was highly pleased at this order of mine. When the pajamas were tied up, she smiled and went along with Manica. Kamala in her bearing at this period made the children understand that what she thought or did was all right. She did not permit the children to undo anything that she did.

March 17, 1927

On this date the children were playing with their toys; Kamala appeared on the scene and watched them playing for some time. There happened to be several red toys (dolls) and several wooden and tin toys of different colors. She quietly began collecting all the red dolls from the line in which the children had arranged them. The children were annoyed and made a clamor, and ran to complain to Mrs. Singh against Kamala. By the time Mrs. Singh could come, Kamala had removed the toys to a corner in the next room, and stood there. Mrs. Singh came and found their line broken, and asked who had done it. Kamala came out and stood there, but did not say anything. When the children complained, pointing to her, she simply began to move to her corner; Mrs. Singh followed her, and when they approached the corner, Kamala herself pointed to the toys heaped in that corner. Mrs. Singh thereupon patted Kamala and said, "Oh! you want all those red dolls. Very good, I will get you some new red dolls. Give these back to them." Kamala at once obeyed, took the dolls to their line, arranged them just as they had been, and left the place with Mrs. Singh. She did not leave Mrs. Singh's company till the bearer was called and the order for red dolls was given; then she appeared to be quite happy.

Her red dolls came, and Kamala took them all to her corner, and covered them with a piece of cloth and went away to the kitchen to Mrs. Singh.

Now Roda came to sweep in the room where Kamala had kept her dolls in the corner; she did not know what to do because she had heard all the quarrel about the toys. She came to Mrs. Singh in the kitchen and asked her about the dolls in the corner. Kamala heard this went straight to the corner to see what Roda had done to them, and was coming out

when Mrs. Singh met her at the door. She called Kamala to come with her and she followed quietly. Mrs. Singh gave her a small wooden box, and affectionately told her to keep all her toys in it. Kamala obeyed, and when she had finished collecting them in the box, Mrs. Singh came in and praised her for being able to put them in so nicely. Then she suggested that she keep the box in her *almirah*.³ Kamala appeared very pleased, and quickly took up the box and carried it to the almirah, and Mrs. Singh locked it up. Kamala was extremely happy, and went along jumping on all fours.

Kamala immediately went to the children and called them by making signs with both hands. The children came running to her, and she took them to the almirah and struck at the door of the almirah and said, "Bak—Poo—Vo," meaning "Baksa—Pootool—Vootara" in Bengali ("Box—Doll—Inside" in English), and moved about on her hands and knees inside the room.

May 5, 1927

The children fought among themselves, and there was a great feud among them, and Kamala was watching them from a distance. I at once took my gun, and began to go towards the garden, whistling to the dogs. Hearing the dog-whistle and finding me going towards the garden, they all ran towards me, and Kamala followed them leisurely. As soon as the gun was fired and the report was heard, Kamala was seen running on all fours very fast towards the kitchen where Mrs. Singh was seated, and tried to hide herself behind her. All the children forgot their quarrel.

May 23, 1927

The children of the Orphanage used to collect the eggs just after their school was finished every day. Kamala had been noticing this for some time. On the twenty-third of May, 1927, before the school bell rang, Kamala got into the poultry house and closed the door inside. At four p.m. when the school was dismissed, all the five children whose duty it was to collect eggs that day came running towards the poultry house, but found the door shut from the inside and began to push it till the door came off its hinges. Mrs. Singh, hearing the noise, came to the spot; and Kamala, hearing her voice, came out of the poultry house. We thought Kamala must have eaten all the eggs that day, but when Mrs. Singh at once got into the room, followed by Kamala, she found the eggs heaped in a corner. Mrs. Singh began to praise Kamala, and told her to collect

³ A cabinet with folding doors or a chest of drawers. (R. R. Gates)

the eggs every day with the children. Kamala was highly pleased and walked about like a great hero who had gained a big victory.

June 19, 1927

When the poultry door was opened by Mary, she found a fowl dead; she told Mrs. Singh, who came along to see it. As she was going with all the children and Kamala, one of the girls whispered to another, saying that if Kamala could get it she would eat it. Mrs. Singh frowned at her and said nothing. When the dead fowl was brought out, Mrs. Singh patted Kamala and mildly asked her whether she would eat it; Kamala at once shook her head from side to side and said, "Na, Na, Na."

The fowl was kept somewhere outside to see whether Kamala would take it away. No, she did not touch it. The fowl lay there for three hours, but Kamala did not look at it. Then the fowl was buried in the cow-dung heap.

July 13, 1927

It was noticed for the first time that when Kamala was passing by the dogs at the time of their meal, they began to bark at her just as they always did at other children at such a time. Kamala took fright and went a roundabout way, and did not come near the dogs at all.

This showed a peculiar change on both sides.

August 4, 1927

Five dog pups were brought to Kamala by a girl who mischievously placed them in her lap as she sat squatting on the ground. Kamala showed great temper and began to throw the pups from her lap. Before this, she had a great affection for such things.

September 14, 1927

Some meat was put on the dining table in the presence of Kamala to see whether she would steal and eat the meat as she did before. The meat lay there for the whole day, and Kamala did not care to steal or eat it.

Now Kamala used to come regularly to our morning service and sit or kneel in a line with the children. Before this, she used to be brought in, and she liked to sit separately by herself, and the children used to call her "heathen."

October 29, 1927

It was noticed on this day that Kamala did not go to market when all

the other children went. She stayed at home with Mrs. Singh. After some time, she felt very restless. She commenced walking backward and forward from the front door of the Orphanage to the gate on two legs. Mrs. Singh approached her and affectionately asked, "What, Kamala, do you also want to go to market?" Kamala looked up into her face and said



Kamala throwing the dog-pups from her lap

"Hoo," and tears rolled down her cheeks. Mrs. Singh consoled her in many affectionate words and promised that she would take her to the market, and the other children would remain at home. The affectionate words and the promise satisfied her, and she was jolly again.

December 3, 1927

Kamala learned to identify herself with the children. On the third of

December, 1927, she was standing at the dining table when the table was being laid for tea. Mrs. Singh, finding her there, gave her a biscuit. She ran to the children, and all the children flocked round the table, expecting to get a biscuit each. Mrs. Singh scolded them for thus coming in before the tea bell rang, and one by one they all left the dining room. Kamala, finding that they had gone away without a biscuit, put her biscuit on the table and went away. The biscuit lay there till the tea bell rang. After the bell, all the children congregated and were given two biscuits each. Kamala took only one biscuit from Mrs. Singh and picked up the one she had left on the table.

CHAPTER XVIII

Kamala's Last Illness

THROUGHOUT the year 1928, Kamala went on learning and practicing, practicing and learning, as the case might be, and grew in mind and in human character.

Unfortunately now, her health deteriorated a good deal. The doctors failed to find out the cause of this. We got very anxious about her. We strictly followed the directions of the doctors and gave all the nourishing food they recommended and the medicines they prescribed, but Kamala's health did not improve.

At this time, we received an invitation from the Psychological Society of New York, U.S.A., to bring Kamala to America. The Lecture Bureau were prepared to accommodate us in presenting Kamala before the public and to describe with the photos her rescue and her life in our midst since then.

The doctors could not agree to this proposal of taking Kamala there in her state of health, and we gave up the idea altogether.

Kamala fell ill on the twenty-sixth of September, 1929. All the doctors in the town attended on her and carefully treated her from the very beginning. She suffered for a long time and got very weak. During her illness, she not only could talk, but talked with the full sense of the words used by her.

One incident may be cited here: During this illness she was being injected twice every day. This was the only treatment the doctors in consultation suggested. This treatment began from the third of November, 1929.

One morning Dr. Santra gave her one injection; she opened her eyes and saw him. This was on the fourth of November, 1929. In the afternoon Dr. Sarbadhicari came and gave her another injection. After the injection she was asked who gave her that injection. At first shutting her eyes, she said "Hom Babu," meaning Dr. Santra. I asked her to open

her eyes and see who the doctor was. She opened her eyes and looked and instantly said, "Na, Sachin Babu," meaning Dr. Sarbadhicari.

This clearly showed to what extent her intellect had grown, that she could clearly distinguish the one doctor from the other. This surely was a marked progress in her life towards manhood, as reclaimed from the ferocious temper, wild habits, and the completely different being of an animal, to all intents and purposes.

Kamala the wolf-child thus lingered in her last illness and gave up the ghost at four a.m. on the fourteenth morning of November, 1929.

Copy of Kamala's Death Certificate

S. P. Sarbadhicari, I.M.S.

14.11.1929

This is to certify that Kamala (commonly known as the Wolf Girl), a girl of The Rev. Singh's Orphanage, expired this morning at 4 a.m. from Uraemia.

She was under my treatment for the latter part of her illness.

(Signed) S. P. Sarbadhicari

Thus ended a life in our Orphanage, and there ended my study of her.

CHAPTER XIX

Conclusions

KAMALA'S advance from an animal existence to the rudiments of human life began with food. The knowledge of new things began with eatables quite unknown to her. Her taste for so long a time had only been for meat and milk, like the wolves in the jungle. Since she came to us, she had been eating and seeing new things, and her mode of existence in our midst was also new to her. She had been taken out of the life of the jungle and thrown into human society. Her former life and this human society were diametrically opposite to each other in every respect, and so Kamala and Amala used to get puzzled, and did not know what to do; that is why they attempted to run away several times. Human society itself was a novelty to them and disagreeable in every respect. The habits of the jungle life received a rude shock. These habits, however, persisted, but not having any scope for action in practical life, grew weaker day by day in the absence of animal examples and influences. Now they came directly under the sober and affectionate influence of human society in the Orphanage.

There was a terrible fight in their minds, and the environment and the circumstances bewildered them. As the habits of the jungle became feebler, the newly acquired ideas of the new environment established themselves in their minds, which had been in a passive state before. So long as their minds received these ideas, Kamala and Amala remained passive, though at times their former habits displayed themselves in the shape of anger or temper.

The result of this mental fight was seen first in the development of a sense of taste. Some of the new foods, such as biscuits and cakes, were the first things to attract Kamala and Amala. This was the beginning of the change that came upon Kamala, making her grow slowly as a human infant when her age was eleven years or so. The pleasure she derived in eating the new foods caused her imperceptibly and unknowingly to come under human influences, gradually and very, very slowly.

We have seen before that in order to get these biscuits, etc., a strenuous attempt was made by Kamala and repeated again and again to create a new habit in her, although she herself was unaware of this, namely, to straighten the knee joints so as to enable her to stand on her legs.

Besides the effect on her limbs, there was certainly a severe struggle going on in her mind as well. Kamala and Amala at first tried their best to free themselves from the clutches of human society and its environment. When their attempt to regain their former freedom was found impossible, they slowly began to give up that attempt and remained passive. It is a fact that when the body remains inactive, the mind works with intensity. Such was also the case with Kamala. She was an intellectual being, though she had been severed from an intellectual environment and thrown into the jungle with the wolves from her very infancy. She had not passed the limit of age when she could not grow. Her human life from her infancy had not grown, but had lain dormant. When the other life, i.e., the life in the jungle and its growth, had been arrested, the human life was bound to begin to grow as she lived in a human society and came under the influence of human examples from the infants before her. It can only be said that Kamala began very late and her progress, therefore, was very slow. She could not begin with a clean slate, having behind her her former experiences in her association with the wolves in the jungle and the acquired habits which had become second nature to her. She was not prepared to do all that she saw the children doing, yet the examples of the children made her ponder upon all she saw. Though at the outset she did not like Mrs. Singh's and the children's company, still very slowly her idea of pleasure in this company and a growing inclination towards it generated in her a liking for human society.

She came to love her new food, and from this to a liking for the person who distributed it was but a step. The human touch in the massage had an especially soothing influence on her to give up her ferocious animal nature, and developed in her in its place a sort of crude affection towards Mrs. Singh first of all. It did not stop there, as it does with the pets in our house; but since she possessed human intellect, she went forward to realise her existence in the midst of these children and their behavior towards her as examples to be copied in the long run. In other words, she commenced to grow in mind.

From the love of food and the affection for Mrs. Singh, she began to like other things. She gradually began to like the children themselves, to like clothes, especially the red ones, to like standing on her two legs as soon as her joints permitted her to do so. In this way came a knowledge of

new things, under the influence of human society, friendship, and motherly love.

State of Mind

Kamala's state of mind was very difficult to understand at the beginning. She was virtually an animal. Only now and then could a flash of intellect be seen, as she had shown when she was at the mouth of the wolf den before her rescue: she looked this side and that, and then leaped out to follow the cubs. Amala also did the same.

Her first three years' stay in our midst only taught her to nod to say "yes" and to shake her head from side to side to signify her unwillingness, but she could not utter even a word. This nodding and shaking of her head correctly enabled us to understand what she meant, and never misled us. She always used to remain quite quiet, and except for these two signs she was mum.

All this goes to show that Kamala's mind was working and that she was growing in intellect like a human child of a year or so. The human brain cells in Kamala had lain dormant, permitting the animal brain cells to act and develop during those eight years of her life in the jungle. But now, there being no scope for the animal brain cells to act, they in their turn lay dormant, setting free the human side of the brain to act and develop; and thus Kamala commenced to grow as a human child.

Her mental state during this stage of her life among us may be explained as follows. Her state of mind, together with her other acquired jungle habits and activities, had received a rude shock and had come to a standstill. But the brain and the mind in a growing child can not remain inactive, and Kamala began to grow intellectually, and the inquiring aptitude of her mind developed in her as in a human child. Before, she could not utter a word; but her later ability to say intelligently a few words and speak them correctly goes to show that her mind had been working imperceptibly, and her intellect was opening out to understand human life and its environment.

Nature, or rather chance, had provided me with this phenomenon and offered wonderful scope for experiment and research in a line which would otherwise have been impossible. The lines are these, if I may be permitted to lay them down:

1. How much of human characteristics are "acquired" and how much transmitted?
2. How much "sociality" was present in the character and habits of the individual *per se*?

3. What was the nature of the "human ancestor," a myth¹ which anthropologists are at pains to reconstruct into a scientific theory?

As regards the first, it leads to the keen controversy regarding the relative importance of heredity and environment. If man is bound by heredity and predestination with only microscopic modifications possible due to changes in environment, then all constant endeavor for social betterment would lose all significance. But if, on the other hand, it can be proved that the environment predominates² in the molding of character and habits, the laudable efforts of social workers would succeed in bringing into existence, if not the millennium, at least the near vista of a better world, which could be realised if we would only take the right path. The theory of social progress suggests that this view is more correct, and in the case of Kamala it is clearly established that the influence of her wolf environment was almost all-powerful, and even made her unable to develop those modifications of the human body required for human life, as distinct from the limbs of the animals.

As regard the second point, the discovery is of yet greater importance. The primary principle of sociality as is recognised by leading sociologists is "consciousness of kind," which, as Giddings defines, "means a state of consciousness in which any being, whether low or high in the scale of life, recognises another conscious being as of like kind with itself." Here is a conscious human being who defies the principles of consciousness of kind and of association. It is clear that Kamala and Amala were more interested in animals than humans at first.

As to point three, was our "apelike ancestor" who supplies the missing link like this girl?³ But this girl seems even more remote in the chain.

¹ The numerous discoveries in recent years, of fossil humanoid types in Java, China, and South Africa, as well as Europe, exhibiting a variety of intermediate conditions between living anthropoids and living men, clearly confirm the view that the human body has been evolved from lower forms. This generally accepted fact is not, however, incompatible with Christianity. (R. R. Gates)

² The case of Kamala shows clearly that her very unusual environment inhibited the development of her human mentality and led to the development of many wolf-reactions by imitation. On the other hand, satisfactory and necessary as a favorable human environment is for the natural development of a human child, it cannot elicit qualities which are not there. If Kamala had been a feeble-minded or idiot child, her mentality would not have developed later to the extent it did.

From modern investigations of mental inheritance in man and animals, one must conclude that the fundamental bases of intelligence, ability, and character are inherited. The environment affects for better or worse these inherited potentialities. This does not relieve the individual of moral responsibilities, because his decisions are the free expression of his own personality. At the same time, his character with its inherited basic elements will in large measure determine the nature of his decisions. (R. R. Gates)

³ Obviously not. (R. R. Gates)

But we must not forget also that this girl Kamala is an artificial creation; and all her inconsistencies are due to a sudden change of environment to which it took some time to adapt herself.

It would have been impossible to realise and prove such a change if Kamala had not been rescued and carefully observed for nine years with a severe scrutiny as regards the facts and movements of her daily life in the Orphanage.

Kamala became a new person in the year 1928. She was an infant, so to say, of three or four years of age with reference to her growth as a human child, although according to my guess she was sixteen years old. It has been seen how her senses, power of understanding, and vocabulary developed. One would have been astonished to find Kamala, a growing human child, progressively developing all her human faculties, though so very late in life unlike the children at home generally. Untimely death cut short the fascinating study of the tardy development of this human being from a wolflike existence to that of a human being, retarded several years behind her true age. Now I leave it to you to decide between the two factors in human affairs, heredity and the influence of environment.

APPENDIX

Chronology of the Wolf-Children by The Right Reverend H. Pakenham-Walsh (Bishop)

1920

- | | |
|------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| October 17 | Captured |
| Oct. 23 | Return—first feeding and drink
Light frightens them (31) |
| Oct. 28 | Leave Godamuri |
| Nov. 4 | Arrive Midnapore |
| Nov. 5 | Howling during sleep first heard (91) |
| Nov. 10 | Loincloth stitched on |
| Nov. 15 | Lap all food |
| Nov. 19 | Smell out food (24)
K. goes to eat with dog, cannot be prevented “on account of ferocious nature” (91) |
| Nov. 24 | Stronger, able to stand bathing, hair cut |
| Nov. 26 | Refuse bottle but take it from Mrs. S. |
| Dec. 2 | First crawl out (side?) (32) |
| Dec. 4 | Taken out—try to hide (52) |
| Dec. 5 | Cured of sores |
| Dec. 7 | Stand on knees to reach food (24) |
| Dec. 10 | Only sound peculiar cry in dead of night |
| Dec. 12 | K. does not make “Bhoo, Bhoo” sound when thirsty as A. does (26) |
| Dec. 13 | Watch Mrs. S. talking—then turn away (49) |
| Dec. 16 | Noticed sleeping in overlapping position (91). Sleep with bent legs (91) |
| Dec. 17 | Caught meddling with water pan (47); pay attention to dogs (53) |
| Dec. 19 | Able to move about, crawl, though not yet on all fours. |
| Dec. 20 | “Just beginning to crawl”; first saw glove. |

- Dec. 21 Begin to play with Benjamin
 Dec. 31 Bite Benjamin

1921

- Jan. 3 Can see in dark
 Jan. 11 Allow Mrs. S. to nurse them—look for her (38)
 Jan. 17 Cavort with each other (36)
 Jan. 29 They try to escape, morose, bite Roda
 To end of January, complete dislike for everything human
 (A. also)
 Lips tremble (20)
 Jan. 31 Struggle against bath—lap water (34)
 Feb. 2 Become a bit tame, come to room where Mrs. S. is when
 hungry (25)
 Feb. 5 Smell food, devour it greedily (25)
 Feb. 19 Patrol courtyard seeking to escape (27)
 Feb. 21 Escape at night—"are not afraid" (35)
 Mar. 15 Cannot bear sunlight noticed (30)—cannot see well in sun
 Mar. 18 Run to Mrs. S. when frightened by cow
 April 3 Both reject milk and barley if not sweetened enough (90)
 April 9 Both reject salted meat—do not like salt (90)
 July 15 Join in game of making tea and passing biscuits for first
 time
 July 16 Come for biscuits but not for make-believe tea
 August 3 Learn to take biscuits from Mrs. S.'s hand (49)
 August 13 Come to get biscuits from Mrs. S.
 Sept. 4 A. falls ill (54)
 Sept. 6 K. falls ill (54)
 Sept. 7 Doctor called (55)—story gets out
 Sept. 12 Worms evacuated (56)
 Sept. 21 A. dies (57). K. will not eat or drink, wants to be with
 corpse (63)
 K. cries—two tears—as A. dies
 Takes to this date to create liking for Mrs. S. (42)
 Sept. 27 K. sits in corner until this day (59)
 Oct. 8 K. smells all places A. used to frequent (65); pants in
 sun, *tongue out* (65)
 Oct. 16 First time she howls after illness (65)
 Oct. 19 Massage prolonged (66)
 Oct. 29 K. begins to play with kids (59)

- Nov. 1 Takes kids on lap (59)
 Nov. 18 K. talks to kids—prattles like baby of 1½ years (59)
 Face brightens—"to approach smile" (60)
 Nov. 21 Follows fowls (60)
 Nov. 25 Improves, becomes old self—via massage (69)
 Dec. 2 Comes in room where Mrs. S. is; takes red toys in mouth (70)
 Dec. 4 Plays with cat (61)
 Dec. 15 Frightened by pigeons (61)
 Dec. 27 Allows Mrs. S. in her company. Nods head to indicate hunger (70)

1922

- Jan. 2 Kids removed
 Jan. 11 Exercised in standing on knees (71)
 Jan. 18 Annoyed by pigeons (62)
 Jan. 20 Hyena dies; K. feels absence of A. very much (62)
 End of Jan. To this date does not come so often for food and drink (in seclusion because of A's death?). Associated with kids, fowl, hyena cub
 Feb. 9 Stands on knees to get biscuits, tries—and fails—to stand on feet (72)
 Feb. 13 to 27 Practice in standing on knees
 Feb. 27 After this date K. is able to stand on knees
 March 2 Walks (upright) on knees for a short distance
 Does not dislike company of Mrs. S. and babies but is "despondent" when they enter without plate of food (74)
 March 4 Can stand on knees whenever she likes without pillow
 March 6 Finds dead chicken, runs into bushes and devours it, understands endearments (88)
 March 7 Exercise with benches to encourage standing (75)
 March 21 Successfully completes above test (76)
 March 24 Taken into compound for exercise regularly (77)
 March 26 Rides tree for cat (78)
 March 27 Gets food from limb of tree (78)
 (could not walk at all)
 April 28 Placing food on stool exercise begun (79)
 May 7 K. fails to reach plate on stool—cannot stand to get it (79)
 May 10 K. "rests on toes a little" in above effort (80)
 Wall-bracket exercise begun (80)

May 14	Succeeds in wall-bracket exercise
May 17	Gets piece of salted fish, rejects it—does not like salt (89)
May 24	Prop removed and K. stands alone to eat (82)
June 6	Can reach plate slung from ceiling and stands to do so (82)
June 18	Fails to get plate with no support on side (83)
June 29	K. shown kitten hanging from branch by paws
July 17	Tries to swing from branch—fails (84)
July 25	Succeeds in above attempt
August 3	Plays with swing (85)
August 5	Can stand on knees to eat with hands—but must have support (86)
August 6	Laps liquids—all food from now placed on tables (86)
August 12	Pulls punkah. "From this time we permitted her to do what she liked" (95)
August 19	Places plate on ground—mouth down, does not use hands
August 30	Seen swinging with children for first time (94)
Sept. 2	Drives crows from carrion—eats meat ferociously
Sept. 14	K. reaches in field, finds big bone, gnaws it. "Looks at me with ferocity" (88)
Sept. 15	K. smells meat at 70 yards— <i>growls</i> (19)
Sept. 18	K.'s instinct located fowl entrails at 80 yards—sniffs air (19)
Nov. 27	Goes to water pitcher when thirsty, says "Bhoo, Bhoo" (sob?). Also utters this when hungry. <i>No other language</i> (118)
Dec. 24	Fear of fire (29)

1923

April 9	Crawls to meat safe, following Mrs. S., begs for cake. Gets it, retires to corner to eat it (89)
May 13	Makes friends with "ferocious" rooster (96)
June 10	First stood—but could never run (106)
June 11	Rejects salt meat (89)
June 17	Bites top when she can't make it spin (96)
June 20	Given egg, "becomes regular member at tea table," crawls to get eggs every morning (90)
August 13	First time seen sleeping with outstretched legs (91)
Sept.	Until Sept., 1923, (during first 3 years) no laugh or smile (36)

- Sept. 14 Caught meddling with lock of meat safe (93)
 Sept. 18 Purposely closed out at night. Tries to come in, howls (94)
 October 18 Peeps in well (94)
 October 21 K. came out with babies for stroll for first time (93)
 Dec. 2 Tried to force open kitchen door, failed (93)
 Dec. 5 Drives birds away from grain (95)
 Dec. 15 Repeats "Hoo-Hoo" for cold. Can nod for yes, shake head for no
 Dec. 29 Raw meat shown to K. thrown as far as possible. "Seems to find it by instinct." All fours for fast gait, crawls for slower gait (94)
 Dec. 30 Says "Hoo" for "Ha"—yes (119)

1924

- Jan. 6 Mimics little boy "Na, Na, Na" (119)
 Jan. 7 Rescues pigeon from cat. "Gained in confidence little by little this way" (95)
 Jan. 9 Is afraid of dark (96)
 Jan. 19 Sprains wrist. Says "Na, Na, Na" as wrist is bandaged (119)
 Jan. 20 Rejects too-hot water for bath, saying "Na, Na, Na"
 Jan. 22 Refuses food during Mrs. S. absence (97)
 Jan. 28 Affectionately greets Mrs. S. On her return, is happy (98)
 Jan. 29 Says "bhā" for "bhāt"—rice (120)
 Feb. 18 First utters word "bhāl"—"all right." Uses it for all replies (121)
 Feb. 21 Claims all red cloth as her own (121)
 Feb. 22 Says "l-a-l"—red; to claim red frock
 Feb. 28 Utters "Bha" meaning "bhāt," rice (122)
 Feb. 29 Under tutelage says "ām" for "āmi"—I (122)
 March 11 Says "Soo" for Saraju; "toom" for "toomy"—"I am" (122)
 March 13 Says "ām-jab" for "āmi jabo"—"I will" in response to question (123)
 Now passes urine in bathroom instead of in dormitory (124)
 Nov. 18 Locked out of inner compound; extremely frightened, takes refuge in haystack. Tries to open door by force, fails. "I called to her . . . instead of shunning my company, (she) now sought it . . ." (99)

- December Ill of dysentery. Will not leave Mrs. S. for a moment
Vocabulary increases by leaps and bounds (124)
Recovers, joins her Thank Offering Service; "behaved admirably"
From now on wants to be dressed on stroll (127)
- Dec. 19 Loincloth taken off (127)

1925

- Jan. 1 Found talking, "jabbering," to herself (128)
- Jan. 14 Forms small sentences
- Feb. 20 Abandons "jabbering" words and begins singing words, "never quiet" (129)
- Sept. 27 Now likes salt—greed for meat—cooked and uncooked remains (101)
- October 6 First use of "bathroom" to urinate (!) (100)

1926

- Year 1926 Gesture, facial expression, talks. Limited vocabulary but points to things she means to indicate (114)
- Jan. 14 Rejects too-cool bath water (112)
- Jan. 23 Runs on all fours to meet returning Mrs. S., says "mama come," walks on two legs
Jabbers broken words (113)
- Jan. 29 First found that she liked a blanket at night (108)
After this . . . she sometimes walked on two legs—When she wanted to go faster, on all fours (108)
- Feb. 9 Sent for money, gets it by means of signs, returns money-bag to place (115)
- Feb. 19 Sent for milk, gets it by means of gesture (116)
- Feb. 28 Rejects unsalted food (111)
- Summer Becomes "somewhat tame at time of bathing" (101)
- June 7 Runs on all fours when dinner bell is rung. Finding no dinner on table, runs to Mrs. S., pushes or slaps Mrs. S. gently. Then "walked ahead of her (Mrs. S.) *on her legs . . .*"
- Sept. 18 Gets annoyed at not being able to find her own clothes in wash. (109) (but on previous page—first found clothes in

- 1927) Always wears fresh when going out
Not afraid of water but will not go near tub or reservoir
(110)
- Oct. 10 Runs to get Mrs. S. when baby is hurt. Shows attachment
and looks after children (113)
- Oct. 16 Licks and eats soapsuds
- Dec. 6 For first time, insists on being clothed before going out
(116)
- Dec. 19 Steals raw meat from kitchen, eats it (101)

1927

- Year 1927 Quicker progress than average child in learning and ex-
pressing (124)
- Jan. 20 "Annoyed at repetition of persuasion"—"face changes
color" (102)
- Feb. 10 First attempt to wash after evacuation (123)
- March 9 Joins singing in service. "Disturbs singing of hymns very
much" (129)
- March 12 Cannot tie up pajamas. Refuses help from other children.
Comes to Mr. S. crying (130)
- March 17 Gathers up all red toys (131) puts them in cupboard. Says
"Bak-poo-vo" for "Baksa, pootool, vootara" = "Box, doll,
inside"
- Moves about on hands and knees (132)
- May 5 Frightened by gun, runs to Mrs. S. (135)
- May 23 Collects eggs
- June 18 First picks her own clothes from heap (108)
- June 19 Does not eat dead fowl, although has opportunity to do so.
"One of the girls whispered to another, saying that if
Kamala could get it she would eat it" (134)
- July 13 Dogs bark at her, she is frightened of them (134)
- August 4 Shows lack of affection for pups (135)
- Sept. 4 Does not take raw meat, though given opportunity (135)
Now comes regularly to morning service; sits and kneels
with children (135)
- Oct. 29 Does not go to market with children. Walks to and fro.
Cries. Answers "hoo" to consolatory question. Becomes
jolly again at being consoled (135)
- Dec. 4 Puts back biscuit when other children do not get any (136)

1928

Year 1928	Went on learning—health deteriorated
May 29	<i>Now</i> . . . K. did not like to go out at night (103)
July 17	Runs on all fours. Becomes irritated (104)
August 10	Gets irritated because not allowed to swing. "The swing was a <i>novelty</i> to her" (cf. p. 94)

1929

Sept. 26	Falls ill
Nov. 4	Recognizes and names doctor
Nov. 14	Death

FERAL MAN AND CASES OF EXTREME
ISOLATION OF INDIVIDUALS

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The Huichols: Primitive Artists

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INTRODUCTION

IN the second part of this work, *Feral Man and Cases of Extreme Isolation of Individuals*, the present writer gives the literature on the classic cases comparable to the wolf-children of Midnapore. This is submitted to establish feral man as a scientific problem in this body of data for checking the classic cases against each other and against the only completely authentic account, that of the Rev. Singh.¹

The name and concept of feral man was introduced into organized science by the great taxonomist, Linnaeus, in the tenth edition of his *Systema naturae* of 1758, based on the poorly attested cases reported in the historical sources prior to his time.

Feral (L. wild) man is the term for extreme cases of human isolation either, as the present case, of abandoned infants adopted and suckled by animals; or of older children who have wandered away into the forests to survive by their own efforts unaided by human contact.

Similar cases of children shut away from human association by cruel or insane parents furnish a commoner case, reported in the press from time to time. The data on two such recent cases are given herein (p. 248, fn. 21, ff). They show the same effects from isolation; but they generally recover normal minds and personalities due to the short period of isolation before they attract neighbors or child protective societies. To this class belonged the famous case of Kaspar Hauser. His and other cases of this sort are improperly classified by Tredgold (see p. 271, fn. 16) as *Isolation Amentia* together with the deprivations suffered by the deaf and dumb, where neither mental deficiency *per se* nor flights of sanity are involved. Such isolation, like true cases of feral man, are better covered by Rauber's concept of *dementia ex separationem*.²

Feral cases are rarer than such cases of isolation in these times of

¹I have checked these accounts against each other in an article: "Feral Man and Cases of Extreme Isolation," *American Journal of Psychology*, October, 1940, Volume LIII, pp. 487-517, which this introduction follows closely otherwise.

²At the suggestion of Prof. Francis N. Maxfield and Mr. Fredy Billingslea, both of Columbus, Ohio, I have shifted my mistaken interpretation of this point since writing p. 495 of the article of the above footnote.

modern communication and contact. Of feral cases the rarest are those of children being lost in forests and surviving unaided to adolescence or maturity. Yet in the disasters of great wars in the 18th and 19th centuries, several cases were reported on scientific authority of a famous anthropologist like Tylor (Clemens of Overdyke, see p. 201), or an educator like Itard (The Wild Boy of Aveyron, see p. 241). We may suspect that in postwar Russia, among the hordes of abandoned children some wandered away into the wastes; and, but for the possible rigors of the climate, may have survived. In the recent wars in China and Spain, as well as that raging in Europe, children may have been reduced to this feral condition. As the publication of each new case in the past has brought reports of others, perhaps this publication will bring other cases to light.

The Wild Boy of Aveyron, who appeared in 1799, offers our best older evidence for a case of this type. During that year in France, hunters pulled a boy out of a tree, who had apparently got lost or wandered off into the woods as a child and survived until found at seventeen years of age as a wild creature living on nuts, berries, etc. He gave no evidence of nurture by animals and could walk, run, and climb like a wild thing. He was examined by Pinel, the leading psychologist in France of that day. Pinel called him an incurable idiot, despite the fact he had had animal intelligence enough to have lived alone in the wilds from nature's products, unaided by man or animals. Not daunted by the pronouncement of the great psychologist, the education of this wild boy was undertaken by J. M. C. Itard, a doctor of medicine and a teacher in a special school for the deaf and dumb. Itard gives a full account of the education of this wild boy. By this we see that with the best of educational method for deaf, dumb, and subnormal children (which was well advanced in France by the educational theories of Rousseau, set in operation by the French Revolution then at its height), this wild boy lost his bestial appearance and manners and became an appealing though subnormal person. He learned not more than three words before his death at forty years of age. Kamala, the elder of the wolf-children, herein described, learned more words, about fifty, and could use them intelligently in short sentences before she died at about seventeen years of age after nine years of education.

Unlike Wild Peter, rescued at twelve and giving evidence that natural deficiency was accentuated by isolation of at least a year, the factor of isolation may be considered as sufficient to account for the retardation of the Wild Boy of Aveyron, since his isolation could have been a long one

as he was rescued at seventeen years of age. The inadequate accounts of the Cranenburg Girl (see p. 234 ff.), rescued at the comparable age of eighteen, indicate also that speech was not recovered.

Younger cases of this sort make much more substantial recoveries. The most recent such case, the five-year-old "Tarzancito" of Salvador, was found in 1933 under circumstances strikingly reminiscent of the eight- or nine-year-old classic case of the *Puella Campanica*. Tarzancito had completely recovered from his wild behavior in three years, a recovery similar to that recorded for the *Puella Campanica* (see pp. 252-268).

Second Type of Feral Man

Probably the strangest form of feral condition, that of human children suckled by animals, is a more common form of extreme isolation than the last, rare as it is. Such case is the present one of the wolf-children of Midnapore, which is the best attested on record because several persons are recorded as seeing the children living as animals among animals. The unique element in the present case is not the adoption of infants by wild animals; but the fact that only in this case do we have the record of nine years in human association after the rescue by the man who, in company with several others, saw the children in association with the animals which were killed and the children brought again into human society. In all other such cases, the children pass through several hands after rescue from animals, before reaching the person who recorded the case.

The entire status of the problem of feral man has hitherto been uncertain because of the lack of recorded witnesses of the animals as foster mothers of human beings. Cases reported as secured from wild or domesticated animals have come down in historical records of Europe from the 14th century (the Hessian Wolf-boy, see p. 204) to the early 19th century (Clemens of Overdyke, see p. 201). From India, reports of this sort, as the present case, have been much more frequent. This is probably because wolves are not killed for religious reasons and steal hundreds of children a year (see p. 144, fn. 4). Apparently a mother-wolf in suck occasionally adopts one of the victims. In the region of India surrounding Midnapore, children reported as rescued from wolf foster mothers have been so frequent, that it actually appears that one or more wolf-children have been under institutional care somewhere on that continent, ever since the English took over the Kingdom of Oudh (see p. 143).

In studies of human behavior and development, scientific experiment is

often forced to take the direction of animal experimentation or the use of accidental cases approximating a controlled experiment. No scientist would dream of an actual experiment with a human subject under any such rigorous control as removing all human association and contact. Cases of feral man, and certainly the present one of the wolf-children of Midnapore, offer objective data subject to this control of fundamental importance to theories of human studies. Thus we may say that at last we have satisfactory evidence from far-away India of a crucial experiment made by a mother-wolf.

From his inadequate data, Linnaeus tersely characterized feral man as *tetrapus*, *mutus*, and *hirsutus*. The last, *hirsutus*, is certainly in error since few of the cases reported are hairy, even though occasionally exposure of the naked body to the sun's rays may be accountable for the several cases of hairy feral man.

But all the cases reported agree with this Midnapore instance in being mute despite an often acute sense of hearing. Most cases made animal-like sounds. Also, so rare as to be almost unique, is the one inadequately authenticated case of a four-year-old Indian wolf-boy from Sultanpur (see p. 155 ff.) to show a recovery of speech beyond the degree of recovery of this wolf-girl of Midnapore, Kamala, of ability to speak about fifty words. The only satisfactory evidence of complete speech recovery after severe and long-continued isolation (but without association with animals) was in the case of Kaspar Hauser, and the less well-authenticated cases of the girl from Songi and the modern Salvador boy (see p. 259 ff.). The failure of development of speech, the most characteristic human faculty, is of the greatest significance.

All cases of feral man reared by animals agree with the Midnapore case and with Linnaeus' characterization, *tetrapus*, in the characteristic of walking on hands and feet or hands and knees, despite man's biped structure of limbs. In all cases reported, this biped structure is sufficiently modified by conditioning to a surprisingly rapid quadruped locomotion that it is only by protracted education that the erect position of man is attained for walking. In none of the cases of feral man reared by animals can they run upright; but, like Kamala, must take the four-legged position for rapid movement.

All cases of feral man agree with this one of Midnapore in being disinterested in and antagonistic to human society and incommunicative to human beings. Among feral cases, animal-reared children at first recovery are most interested in and sympathetic with animals like their foster mothers; and, strangely enough, such animals appear to feel a

sympathy with them in playing and eating with them which they would not tolerate in another animal. All such cases of feral man show a greater interest in almost any kind of animal than in man.

Despite the gross human structure of feral man in brain and nervous system, we unfortunately have no postmortem material on these wolf-children of Midnapore. But the only such material that we have, which is on Kaspar Hauser (see p. 273 ff.), is of paramount importance because he made a substantially complete recovery of human faculties and speech after severe and long-continued isolation. Yet his brain was undersized with an underdevelopment of the *cerebrum* and of the convolutions approaching an impression of atrophy. Though the degrees of recovery vary from almost complete in the case of Kaspar Hauser to practically nothing in such cases as the idiot wolf-child, Sanichar, the initial human behavior of all cases appears idiotic, despite the animal-like keenness of the senses of smell, hearing, and sight (the latter, especially at night).

The universal initial imbecility of feral man when restored to human society raises the question of throwing out the whole of the data as irrelevant to human heredity and psychology, on the grounds that congenital idiocy is involved. One argument is that idiotic children would be more apt to be abandoned than normal ones. But it would seem improbable that out of some thirty-five cases of feral man, pure chance should have operated to result in all being natural idiots, except the few who recovered more or less completely.

Two other lines of consideration counterindicate universal idiocy. First, several of the cases are of children who are alleged to have wandered into the woods alone and have survived to adolescence by their own wits and strength, unaided by human association. The reports indicate that each of such feral children "invents" and specializes in one or a few rudimentary means of subsistence, like swimming for fish and frogs (the wild-girl of Songi, see p. 254, fn. 3 ff.), or climbing trees for birds' eggs and young (second Overdyke case, see p. 202, fn. 37 ff.), etc. In no case was the use of fire reported, animals and plants being eaten raw. Natural idiots would never thus survive unaided.

The second counterindication of congenital idiocy in many of the cases of animal-reared children, as in the present case, is the degree of recovery shown by some of the individuals when in human society for some years. In the Rev. Singh's *Diary on the wolf-children of Midnapore*, one sees evidence of great stress and strain in the struggle of the elder child, Kamala, after the death of her younger human companion of the wolf den. This struggle was to orient her affections and interests from animals

to human beings. At first she seemed about to sink into the gloom of unrelieved and despondent idiocy; but soon she began to take a glimmering of interest in her new surroundings and associations without the leadership of the younger and more plastic child, Amala, whose early death after a year in human contact was most unfortunate.

The account reveals how the Rev. and Mrs. Singh were forced to treat both children, when rescued, as newly born human babies. In the social, and in a very real sense, this is what they both were upon their introduction into human society at the ages of one and a half and eight years of age. They had to be kept in bed, to be fed milk from a bottle, and to be clothed only in a diaperlike breechcloth. The breechcloth had to be sewed on because they tore off clothing as savagely as animals would do. This last reveals that their human handicap was greater than that of the difference between their chronological and mental ages. They had to unlearn all their animal behavior patterns and habits as well as shift their interests and sympathies from animals to human beings. The Rev. Singh thought the first step was successfully accomplished when the wolf-children got over their great craving for raw meat, on which, with animal milk, they had lived.

Their development of human behavior was slow due to the inhibitions of this animal patterning. The elder did finally learn control in evacuation and stopped tearing off her clothes. Finally she came to demand her "fok" (frock) when company came or the children went out for a walk, though no color appealed to her except red.

The complete account of the Rev. Singh brings out clearly the difficulties in the re-education of Kamala to the erect position in walking which took years and a complicated series of exercises. Yet her mastery of man's erect posture was so incomplete that for running Kamala, like other cases of animal-reared children, had to go on all fours. When she ran thus, it was hard for a person to overtake her.

In the complete account, we see a development in language from animal communication to rudimentary human behavior in this essentially human faculty of speech. In the end Kamala mastered about fifty words, and she used them in simple sentences of at least subject and predicate. The preceding work records the transformation of a human creature from an effective animal into a pathetic little subnormal girl, who gave no one the impression of being idiotic; but one who became the favorite child in the orphanage where she was so fortunate as to live for nine years with children of her own age.

If we speak of idiocy in many of these cases of feral man, we should

avoid Tredgold's concept of *Isolation Amentia* of Kaspar Hauser; and in feral cases in general we should think with Rauber in terms of idiocy as a *dementia ex separationone*, from isolation. As early as 1885, Rauber points out in connection with feral man that the first years of human life are the most significant ones. Individuals subject at such an age to isolation long and severe enough recover from its effects to a degree only by an unusual strength and power of human plasticity.

Since natural or congenital idiocy does not appear involved in this instance of the wolf-children of Midnapore, as in some of the other instances, we are led to admit the relevance of these data of isolation to problems of human psychology and sociology. I would argue that these data prove the crucial importance of the very earliest years of human life.

For experimental control, Psychology may well study man as a set of variables while assuming or seeking the environment as a constant, leaving to Sociology the variables of the social environment assuming the individual as a constant. These data of the "controlled" experiment of the wolf-children of Midnapore are of the greatest significance to both Psychology and Sociology, because Kamala lived over eight years with wolves and then for nine years in human society.

Man is born with a neural organization unique in the biological realm, yet apparently the individual has to live with other human beings in order to enter into his human heritage. Radicals from the days of Rousseau have prejudiced the scientific case for feral man by the fervor of their espousal of these cases as proving that the environment completely molds the human mind and mentality. They overlook the fact that mentality is a bioneurological mechanism, and mind, the environmentally conditioned content organized by that mechanism. Though here we see a well-attested case of human beings reduced to wolf-conditioning, the radical thesis still needs a case of a wolf raised to human behavior.

Meanwhile we shall continue to envisage human heredity and the psychological factors as paramount, with the environing factors operating with them in a complex interplay. It would appear clear that within the complex organism of human neurology, man's faculties and capacities arise to function. But they need the environmental stimulus as a seed needs the good earth. Deprived of the earth the seed dies, just as human faculties atrophy when deprived of the environmental stimulus of language, thought, and human association. By animal association this human equipment can be conditioned to animal behavior, locomotion, food, and emotional response. Deprived too long of human association, or animal-conditioned too strongly, the sensitive potentialities of human develop-

ment are permanently inhibited and/or the traces of animal conditioning are never completely lost.

Sociology which investigates man's society for its significant variables in the conditioning environment has long been interested in the data of feral man as crucial. The material on the wolf-children of Midnapore, while in no way invalidating the hereditary and biopsychological factors, does attest most emphatically to the validity of the realm of social conditioning as a field for investigation into some of the problems of human behavior.

Sociology studies and delimits the social realm as a superorganic structure which provides the conditioning environment of the individual from the day of birth. That human society is a structure or organization with the most profound of effects upon the individual could not be more definitely shown than by the data on the wolf-children of Midnapore, and to a less degree by the other cases of feral man, here summarized.

Cultural Anthropology has added a valuable concept to social science in its conception of culture. Just as society is the environing structure or mechanism, so culture is the corpus of most of these patterns of human behavior passed on through the social mechanism. It is precisely these patterns of behavior which feral man lacks.

This technical concept of culture is different from the ordinary use of the term in such phrases as "a person of culture," or "a cultured man." In such usage, culture means simply having education, moderated conduct, and a marked set of manners which connotes a sophistication and a depth of background of a certain sort. Anthropologists have found it useful to widen this conception to include the results of all human association and background.

By culture, anthropologists mean that enormous part of human thought, belief, and behavior that results from human contact and association with others. These feral cases show how much the individual owes to the stimulation of contacts with, and ideas from, others. Thus is indicated how important a thing culture is in this sense, as a repository of all that has gone before which has found human acceptance.

As culture is the superorganic repository of all that which has gone before to find acceptance in human conditioning; and, as Sociology is the study of the social structure, environment, and interactions of men whereby this heritage is taken over, so Social Psychology is the synthesizing science between these social and cultural fields on the one hand, and the psychic sciences of man as an individual on the other.

Social Psychology occupies this intervening field and effects a neces-

sary methodological simplification by assuming man, as the "individual," to be a biological mechanism. For Social Psychology this biopsychic mechanism is assumed as a constant to be investigated by the psychologist.

From this assumption the social psychologist investigates man as the "personality" in a technical sense referable to the *personae*, i.e., the masks or roles that the "individual" is conditioned to wear before his fellow players in society. That posture, locomotion, sexual expression, and food habits are subject to such patterning, and language and culture the products of it, is shown by the data on feral man, which clearly reveal the reality and significance of these *personae* patterns or roles in which the "individual" participates with his fellows from the time of his birth. In feral cases, such as that of the wolf-children of Midnapore, association with wolves gave these two Indian girls the effective conditioning of wolves sufficiently strong as to have inhibited human behavior. Nine years of careful education in human society, in which most of these animal behavior patterns were put aside, were necessary before the elder surviving child had attained sufficient familiarity with human *personae* patterns to develop in her the essentials of human personality (the rudiments of language, the use of clothes, the upright position, etc.). Unhandicapped by either animal conditioning or that of survival isolated in the wilds, Kaspar Hauser, appearing in the world at seventeen as a *tabula rasa*, had neurological equipment sensitive enough to go far beyond the others to the attainment of a well-nigh complete familiarity with the *personae* patterns current in Bavaria of his own day.

A special prejudice attaches to feral man in Physical Anthropology. This branch of Anthropology studies man's place in nature and unconsciously emphasizes the importance of the biological variables in human problems. Blumenbach, the originator of Physical Anthropology as a recognized discipline, attacked the problem of feral man negatively (see p. 182), due partly to the meager and unsatisfactory data of his time, and due partly, one feels, to a biological emphasis assumed in Physical Anthropology. On the other hand, Professor E. B. Tylor, who gained for Cultural Anthropology university recognition in England, equivocably reargued the whole case (see p. 197 ff.) on the better data from Kaspar Hauser and General Sleeman's reports of seven cases of wolf-children from India. None of the last cases from India are as well-attested as this one of the wolf-children of Midnapore, but they agree strikingly with the present case.

It has been a pleasure to the present author to contribute the second part to this work of the Rev. J. A. L. Singh, the result of a good and great deed of Christian charity by a missionary in the remotest part of

India. For a most important addition to scientific knowledge we owe much to this Indian clergyman and his wife, who, alone and unaided by the financial and other resources of science, faithfully cared for these pitiable creatures, and, far from public plaudits or encouragement, kept the record in his diary which throws so much crucial light on so many human problems.

"The Orphanage," Midnapore, Bengal, India, where these two wolf-children were sheltered and brought into some semblance of human beings is the lifework of the Rev. and Mrs. Singh who have exhausted their personal means in its maintenance. The royalties of all publications on the wolf-children will go to the support of this institution, still under the direction of the Rev. Singh's widow. It is to be hoped that this, together with donations from the many people interested in this rare case of wolf-children, will provide a permanent endowment. Thus the children there, who are mostly waifs who have been abandoned by their poor parents in the forests, may be secure; and the institution itself may be perpetuated as a monument to Amala and Kamala, the two wolf-children, who became the favorites of the other children during their lives. Thus perpetuated, the institution would also remain as a monument to the Rev. and Mrs. Singh.

R. M. Z.

CHAPTER I

Wolf-children in India

THE recent cases of the wolf-children of Midnapore are by no means the only ones reported from Northwest India, although they are the only ones offering satisfactory evidence of competent observers as to the actual association of human children with wild animals. Yet since 1850 there have been constant and recurring reports of native soldiers, peasants, and others taking children from wolves. These children are recorded as behaving so like the present cases, that now that we have a thoroughly satisfactory instance, there should be some presumption that native Indian testimony of even the lowest classes is not always and necessarily false. On such a presumption we may therefore say that there have been one or more wolf-reared children alive in captivity in India ever since 1850. Sleeman explains why so many cases of wolf-children occur in India. (See p. 143).

The first reference that I have been able to find of Indian wolf-children¹ refers to a rare pamphlet² published anonymously in 1852,

¹In 1851, Sir R. I. Murchison in a letter from Egerton, *Ann. and Mag. of Natural History*, 2nd Series 8 (1851) pp. 153-4.

²"An Account of Wolves nurturing Children in their Dens." By an Indian Official. Plymouth: Jenkin Thomas, Printer, 9, Cornwall Street, 1852.

Apparently unaware that the identical account had appeared in Sleeman's book: *A Journey through the Kingdom of Oude (1849-50)*, London, Richard Bentley, 1858, 2 Volumes, the material on wolf-children was reprinted in the organ of the London Linnean Society, *The Zoologist*, 3rd series Volume XII, No. 135, March, 1888, pp. 87-98. It was published with the following prefatory note by the Editor, J. E. Harting, F.L.S., F.Z.S. (p. 87):

"A recent enquiry for information has led to a fruitless search in a great number of books for some trustworthy account of what has been hunted at and believed in by many people since the days of Romulus and Remus, but concerning which there appears to be very little reliable evidence on record. The best account we have been able to find is contained in a pamphlet. . . . A copy of this pamphlet, long out of print, is in the Zoological Library of the Natural History Museum at South Kensington, and on the wrapper of this, in the handwriting of the late Colonel Hamilton Smith, is the following important memorandum:—'This account, I am informed by friends, is written by Colonel Sleeman of the Indian Army who had charge of the Thugg enquiries, and who resided long in the forests

written by the then Colonel, later Major General Sir William H. Sleeman, K.C.B. Sleeman spent 1849-1850 in the Kingdom of Oudh (N. W. India) in the suppression of the Thugs. Due to the confidential nature of his report, which contained recommendations against British acquisition of Oudh, his book was not published until 1858. There was reason for this secrecy since Indian dissatisfaction at the conquest of Oudh was a leading cause of the Sepoy rebellion. This was a work therefore which might never have been published and Sleeman apparently valued the portion of it dealing with the wolf-children so highly that he caused it to be printed as the pamphlet referred to.

Sleeman's account³ is of six wolf-children in the Kingdom of Oudh,

of India.' This endorsement adds value to the account which deserved to be rescued from oblivion, and which is accordingly reprinted to ensure a more permanent record of the facts narrated than is afforded by the precarious existence of a pamphlet now so difficult to obtain." (Zingg)

³ Major General Sir W. H. Sleeman K.C.B.: *A Journey through the Kingdom of Oude (in 1849-50)*. London, Richard Bentley, 1858, Volume I, pp. 206-222. The Preface of this work gives the following information about the author:

"This distinguished officer, whose career in India extended over a period of forty years, and whose services were highly appreciated by three Governors-General . . . was the son of Philip and Mary Sleeman, and was born at Stratton Cornwall 8th August 1788 . . . In early years he evinced a predilection for the military profession; and at the age of twenty-one . . . he was appointed an Infantry Cadet in the Bengal army. . . .

"He distinguished himself so much by his activity in the suppression of the horrible practice of Thuggism, then so prevalent, that, in 1835, he was employed exclusively in the Thuggee Department; his appointment in the Saugur and Nerbudda districts being kept open, and his promotion going on. The very valuable Papers upon Thuggism submitted to the Governor-General were chiefly drawn up by Sir William Sleeman, and the department specially commissioned for this important purpose was not only organized but worked by him. . . .

"Colonel Sleeman held the appointment of Resident at Lucknow from the year 1849 until 1856. During this period his letters and diary show his unwearied efforts to arrive at the best information on all points with regard to Oude. These will enable the reader to form a just opinion on the highly-important subject of the annexation of this kingdom to British India. The statements of Colonel Sleeman bear inward evidence of his great administrative talents, his high and honourable character, and of his unceasing endeavours to promote the best interests of the King of Oude, so that his kingdom might have been preserved to him. Colonel Sleeman's views were directly opposed to annexation, as his letters clearly show. . . .

"His Indian career was, indeed, long and honourable—his labours most meritorious. He was one of those superior men which the Indian service is constantly producing, who have rendered the name of Englishman respected throughout the vast empire of British India, and whose memory will endure so long as British power shall remain in the East. . . .

"The annexation of Oude to the British dominions followed, but not as a consequence of Sir W. Sleeman's report. No greater injustice can be done than to assert that he advised such a course. His letters prove exactly the reverse. He distinctly states, in his correspondence with the Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, that the annexation of Oude would cost the British power more than the value of ten such kingdoms, and would inevitably lead

recounting two cases which he appears to have seen personally, and four others of which he heard through persons on whose integrity this competent observer was willing to risk his high reputation for veracity. There was another case, that of an old man whom he himself saw who may or may not have been reared among wolves. Sleeman first discusses the reasons why so many children are taken by wolves in India, reasons which have been given by many later observers. This material will be quoted *in extenso*, as will other data:

Nor do they (the Hindoos) with some exceptions dare to destroy a wolf, though he may have eaten their own children, or actually have one of them in his mouth. In all parts of India, Hindoos have a notion that the family of a man who kills a wolf, or even wounds it, goes to utter ruin; and so also the village within the boundaries of which a wolf has been killed or wounded. They have no objection to their being killed by other people away from the villages; on the contrary, are very glad to have them so destroyed, as long as their blood does not drop on their premises. . . .

Wolves are numerous in the neighborhood of Sultanpoor, and, indeed, all along the banks of the Goomtee river, among the ravines that intersect them; and a great many children are carried off by them from towns, villages, and camps. It is exceedingly difficult to catch them, and hardly any of the Hindoo population, save those of the very lowest class who live a vagrant life, and bivouac in the jungles, or in the suburbs of towns and villages, will attempt to catch or kill them . . . The class of little vagrant communities above mentioned, who have no superstitious dread of destroying any living thing, eat jackals and all kinds of reptiles, and catch all kinds of animals, either to feed upon themselves, or to sell to those who wish to keep or hunt them.

But it is remarkable, that they very seldom catch wolves, though they know all their dens, and could easily dig them out as they dig out other animals. This is supposed to arise from the profit which they make by the gold and silver bracelets, necklaces, and other ornaments worn by the children whom the wolves carry to their dens and devour, and are left at the entrance of their dens . . . I have myself no doubt . . . that they do make a good deal in this way from children's ornaments, which they find

to a mutiny of the Sepoys. He constantly maintains the advisability of frontier kingdoms under native sovereigns, that the people themselves might observe the contrast, to the advantage of the Honourable Company, of the wise and equitable administration of its rule compared with the oppressive and cruel despotism of their own princes. Sir William Sleeman had profoundly studied the Indian character in its different races, and was deservedly much beloved by them for his earnest desire to promote their welfare, and for the effectual manner in which, on all occasions in his power, and these were frequent, he redressed the evils complained of, and extended the *Aegis* of British power over the afflicted and oppressed." (Zingg)

at the entrance of wolves' dens. In every part of India, a great number of children are every day murdered for the sake of their ornaments, and the fearful examples that come daily to the knowledge of parents, and the injunctions of the civil authorities are unavailing against this desire to see their young children decked out in gold and silver ornaments.

Some later writers give statistics to show that thousands of children are carried off by wolves annually in India.⁴

It must be remembered that every year in India great numbers of children are killed by wolves. In 1871 there died from snake-bites and wild beasts in the Presidencies of Bengal and Madras, 16,967 persons. There is no return from the Bombay Presidency, but it may be said in round numbers, that the deaths from such causes in British India cannot be less than 20,000 a year. Considerably more than half of these deaths are owing to snake-bites; but of those who fall victims to wild beasts by far the largest number are killed by wolves, and these for the most part are children carried off from villages or hamlets near the jungles. In Oude about a thousand people perish every year from snake-bites and wild beasts. In 1871 the number was as high as 1,184, and the statistical returns are yet imperfect. Probably the number of children carried off by wolves in British India does not fall under 5,000 or 6,000 a year, and of these from 300 to 400 occur in Oude.

Sleeman then continues with the following account of the children which he had seen, who had apparently survived being carried off by wolves, having been suckled by wolf mothers:

Case I. from *A Journey through the Kingdom of Oude*

In all parts of India, the Hindoos have a notion that the family of a man who kills a wolf, or even wounds it, goes to utter ruin; and so also the village within the boundaries of which a wolf has been killed or wounded . . . Some Rajpoot families in Oude, where so many children are devoured by wolves, are getting over this prejudice.

There is now at Sultanpoor a boy who was found alive in a wolf's den, near Chandour, about ten miles from Sultanpoor, about two years and a half ago. A trooper sent by the native governor of the district of Chandour, to demand payment of some revenue, was passing along the bank of the river near Chandour about noon, when he saw a large female wolf leave her den, followed by three whelps and a little boy. The boy went on all fours and seemed to be on the best possible terms with the old dam

⁴ Ireland, W. W., *The Mental Affections of Children*, London, J. A. Churchill, 1898. Also Second edition 1900, pp. 371, 425.

and the three whelps, and the mother seemed to guard all four with equal care. They all went down to the river and drank without perceiving the trooper, who sat upon his horse watching them. As soon as they were about to turn back, the trooper pushed on to cut off and secure the boy; but he ran as fast as the whelps could, and kept up with the old one. The ground was uneven, and the trooper's horse could not overtake them. They all entered the den, and the trooper assembled some people from Chandour with pick-axes, and dug into the den. When they had dug in about six or eight feet, the old wolf bolted with her three whelps and the boy.

The trooper mounted and pursued, followed by the fleetest young men of the party; and as the ground over which they had to fly was more even, he headed them and turned the whelps and the boy back upon the men on foot, who secured the boy and let the old dam and the three cubs go on their way.

They took the boy to the village but had to tie him for he was very restive, and struggled hard to rush into every hole or den they came near. They tried to make him speak, but could get nothing from him but an angry growl or snarl. He was kept for several days at the village, and a large crowd assembled every day to see him. When a grown-up person came near him, he became alarmed, and tried to steal away; but when a child came near him, he rushed at it, with a fierce snarl like that of a dog, and tried to bite it. When any cooked meat was put before him, he rejected it in disgust; but when any raw meat was offered he seized it with avidity, put it on the ground under his paws, like a dog, and ate it with evident pleasure.⁵ He would not let anyone come near him while he was eating, but made no objection to a dog coming and sharing his food with him. The trooper remained with him four or five days, and then returned to the governor, leaving the boy in charge of the Rajah of Hasunpoor. He related all that he had seen, and the boy was soon after sent to the European officer commanding the First Regiment of Oude Local Infantry at Sultanpoor, Captain Nicholetts, by order of the Rajah of Hasunpoor, who was at Chandour, and saw the boy when the trooper first brought him to that village. This account is taken from the Rajah's own report of what had taken place.

Captain Nicholetts made him over to the charge of his servants, who take great care of him, but can never get him to speak a word. He is very inoffensive except when teased, Captain Nicholetts says, and will then growl surlily at the person who teases him. He had come to eat anything that is thrown to him, but always prefers raw flesh, which he devours most greedily.

He will drink a whole pitcher of buttermilk when put before him, with-

⁵ The wolf-children of Midnapore did the same. See p. 23, illustration. (Zingg)

out seeming to draw breath. He can never be induced to keep on any kind of clothing even in the coldest weather. A quilt stuffed with cotton was given to him when it became very cold this season, but he tore it to pieces, and ate a portion of it cotton and all, with his bread every day. He is very fond of bones, particularly uncooked ones, which he masticates apparently with as much ease as meat. He has eaten half a lamb at a time without any apparent effort, and is very fond of taking up earth and small stones and eating them. His features are coarse, and his countenance repulsive; and he is very filthy in his habits. He continues to be fond of dogs and jackals, and all other small four-footed animals that come near him; and always allows them to feed with him if he happens to be eating when they approach.⁶

Captain Nicholetts in letters dated the 14th and 19th of September, 1850, told me that the boy died in the latter end of August, and that he was never known to laugh or smile. He understood little of what was said to him, and seemed to take no notice of what was going on around him. He formed no attachment for anyone, nor did he seem to care for anyone. He never played with any of the children around him, or seemed anxious to do so. When not hungry he used to sit petting and stroking a *pareear* or vagrant dog, which he used to permit to feed out of the same dish with him. A short time before his death Captain Nicholetts shot this dog, as he used to eat the greater part of the food given to the boy, who seemed in consequence to be getting thin. The boy did not seem to care in the least for the death of the dog. The parents recognized the boy when he was first found, Captain Nicholetts believes; but when they found him to be so stupid and insensible, they left him to subsist upon charity. They have now left Hasunpoor, and the age of the boy when carried off cannot be ascertained; but he was to all appearances about nine or ten years of age when found, and he lived about three years afterwards. He used signs when he wanted anything, and very few of them except when hungry, and he then pointed to his mouth. When his food was placed at some distance from him, he would run to it on all fours like any four-footed animal; but at other times he would walk upright occasionally. He shunned human beings of all kinds, and would never willingly remain near one. To cold, heat,⁷ and rain he appeared to be indifferent; and he seemed to care for nothing but eating. He was very quiet, and required no kind of restraint after being brought to Captain Nicholetts. He had lived with Captain Nicholetts' servants about two years, and was never heard to speak till within a few minutes of his death, when he put his

⁶ Reported of all wolf-children. (Zingg)

⁷ Insensitivity to heat and cold is reported of almost all cases of feral man. (See p. 31 at Footnote 6) (Zingg)

hands to his head and said, "It ached," and asked for water. He drank it and died.⁵

The publication of the account of this case in *The Zoologist* as late as 1888, resulted in this interesting corroboration, printed in the same volume (3rd series VIII) but No. 138, June, 1888, p. 221, a communication from Mr. Norman Traup:

I have been much interested in your reprint in the March number of *The Zoologist* of the late General Sir William Sleeman's pamphlet on "Wolves nurturing Children in their Dens." Having myself seen the lad first mentioned in the narrative, and, as I think there are those still alive who could endorse what is therein stated about the child, I take the liberty of addressing you in the hope that this corroboration may still be procurable through your agency. When I saw this Wolf-nurtured lad, I was myself a child, living with my father, the late Colonel Robert Traup, who then commanded the 2nd Oudh Local Infantry Regiment, at Sultanpoor, Oudh, and, if my memory serves me aright, the boy was then in the charge of either Major A. P. Orr, or Major Douglas Bunbury, both of the King of Oudh's service . . . —Norman Traup (Mulla Kuttipoor Tea Estate, "Lockington," Kuttipoor, Kumaon, N. W. P., India).

We will now return to the account of Sir William Sleeman of the other cases he records.

Case II. from *A Journey through the Kingdom of Oude*

At Chupra, twenty miles east from Sultanpoor, lived a cultivator with his wife and son, who was then three years of age. In March, 1843, the man went to cut his crop of wheat and pulse, and the woman took her basket and went with him to glean, leading her son by the arm. The boy had lately recovered from a severe scald on the left knee which he got in the cold weather, from tumbling into the fire, at which he had been warming himself, while his parents were at work. As the father was reaping and the mother gleaning, the boy sat upon the grass. A wolf rushed upon him suddenly from behind a bush, caught him up by the loins, and made off with him towards the ravines. The father was at a distance at the time, but the mother followed, screaming as loud as she could for assistance. The people of the village ran to her aid, but they soon lost sight of the wolf and his prey.

⁵ The talking of feral persons at death is reported in several instances, which in cases of half-grown children who have gone wild in isolation is probably the psychological phenomenon of redintegration, recalling words and scenes of early childhood as Falstaff dying is made to "babble of green fields." (Zingg)

She heard nothing more of her boy for six years, and had in that interval lost her husband. At the end of that time, two sipahees came, in the month of February, 1849, from the town of Singramow, which is ten miles from Chupra, on the bank of the Khobae rivulet. While they sat on the border of the jungle, which extended down to the stream, watching for hogs, which commonly come down to drink at that time in the morning, they saw there three wolf cubs and a boy come out from the jungle, and go down together to the stream to drink. The sipahees watched them till they had drunk and were about to return, when they rushed towards them. All four ran towards a den in the ravines. The sipahees followed as fast as they could; but the three cubs had got in before the sipahees could come up with them, and the boy was half way in when one of the sipahees caught him by the hind leg, and drew him back. He seemed very angry and ferocious, bit at them, and seized in his teeth the barrel of one of their guns, which they put forward to keep him off, and shook it. They however secured him, brought him home, and kept him for twenty days. They could for that time make him eat nothing but raw flesh, and they fed him upon hares and birds. They found it difficult to provide him with sufficient food, and took him to the bazaar in the village of Koeleepoor; and there let him go to be fed by the charitable people of the place till he might be recognized and claimed by his parents. One market-day a man from the village of Chupra happened to see him in the bazaar, and on his return mentioned the circumstance to his neighbors. The poor cultivator's widow, on hearing this, asked him to describe the boy more minutely, when she found that the boy had the mark of a scald on the left knee, and three marks of the teeth of an animal on each side of his loins, the widow told him that her boy when taken off had lately recovered from a scald on the left knee, and was seized by the loins when the wolf took him off, and that the boy he had seen must be her lost child.

She went off forthwith to the Koelee bazaar, and in addition to the two marks above described, discovered a third mark on his thigh, with which her child was born. She took him home to her village, where he was recognized by all her neighbors. She kept him for two months, and all the sporting landholders in the neighborhood sent her game for him to feed upon. He continued to dip his face in the water to drink,⁹ but he sucked in the water, and did not lap it up like a dog or wolf. His body continued to smell offensively. When the mother went to her work, the boy always ran into the jungle, and she could never get him to speak. He followed his mother for what he could get to eat, but showed no particular affection for her; and she could never bring herself to feel much for him; and after two months, finding him of no use to her, and despairing of ever making

⁹ This behavior was photographed for the wolf-children of Midnapore. See p. 27, illustration. (Zingg)

anything of him, she left him to the common charity of the village. He soon after learned to eat bread when it was given to him, and ate whatever else he could get during the day, but always went off to the jungle at night. He used to mutter something, but could never be got to articulate any words distinctly.¹⁰ The front of his knees and elbows had become hardened from going on all fours with the wolves. If any clothes are put on him he takes them off, and commonly tears them to pieces in doing so. He still prefers raw flesh to cooked, and feeds on carrion whenever he can get it. The boys of the village are in the habit of amusing themselves by catching frogs and throwing them to him; and he catches and eats them. When a bullock dies, and the skin is removed he goes and eats it like a village dog. The boy is still in the village, and this is the description given of him by the mother herself, who still lives at Chupra. She has never experienced any return of affection for him, nor has he shown any such feeling for her. Her story is confirmed by all her neighbors, and by the head landholders, cultivators, and shopkeepers of the village.

Case III. from *A Journey through the Kingdom of Oude*

The Rajah of Hasunpoor Bundooa mentions, as a fact within his own knowledge, besides the other, for the truth of which he vouches, that in the year 1843, a lad came to the town of Hasunpoor, who had evidently been brought up by the wolves. He seemed to be twelve years of age when he saw him—was very dark, and ate flesh, whether cooked or uncooked. He had short hair all over his body¹¹ when he first came, but having, for a time, as the Rajah states, eaten salt with his food, like other human beings, the hair by degrees disappeared. He could walk, like other men, on his legs, but could never be taught to speak. He would utter sounds like wild animals, and could be made to understand signs very well. He used to sit at a bunneea's shop in the bazaar, but was at last recognized by his parents, and taken off. What became of him afterwards he knows not. The Rajah's statement regarding this lad is confirmed by all the people of the town, but none of them know what became of him.

Case IV. from *A Journey through the Kingdom of Oude*

About the year 1843, a shepherd of the village of Ghutkoree, twelve miles west from the cantonments of Sultanpoor, saw a boy trotting along upon all fours, by the side of a wolf, one morning, as he was out with his

¹⁰ Typical for feral man, *mutus*, as Linnaeus said. (Zingg)

¹¹ This is the first case of a feral child covered by hair, Linnaeus' dictum of *homo ferus* as *hirsutus*. Exposure of the naked body to sunlight might cause this unusual body hair in some cases. (Zingg)

flock. With great difficulty he caught the boy, who ran very fast, and brought him home. He fed him for some time, and tried to make him speak, and associate with men or boys, but he failed. He continued to be alarmed at the sight of men, but was brought to Colonel Gray, who commanded the first Oude Local Infantry, at Sultanpoor. He and Mrs. Gray, and all the officers in cantonment, saw him often, and kept him for several days. But he soon after ran off into the jungle, while the shepherd was asleep. The shepherd, afterwards, went to reside in another village, and I could not ascertain whether he recovered the boy or not.

Case V. from *A Journey through the Kingdom of Oude*

Zoolfukar Khan, a respectable landholder of Bankeepoor, in the estate of Hasunpoor, ten miles from the Sultanpoor cantonments, mentions that about eight or nine years ago a trooper came to town, with a lad of about nine or ten years of age whom he had rescued from wolves among the ravines on the road; that he knew not what to do with him, and left him to the common charity of the village, that he ate everything offered to him, including bread, but before taking it he carefully smelt at it,¹² and always preferred undressed meat to everything else; that he walked on his legs like other people when he saw him, though there were evident signs on his knees and elbows of his having gone, very long, on all fours; and when asked to run on all fours he used to do so, and went so fast that no one could overtake him; how long he had been with the trooper, or how long it took him to learn to walk on his legs, he knows not. He could not talk, or utter any very articulate sounds. He understood signs, and heard exceedingly well, and would assist the cultivators in turning trespassing cattle out of their fields, when told by signs to do so.¹³ Boodhoo, a Brahmin cultivator of the village, took care of him, and he remained with him for three months, when he was claimed and taken off by his father, a shepherd, who said that the boy was six years old when the wolf took him at night some four years before; he did not like to leave Boodhoo, the Brahmin, and the father was obliged to drag him away. What became of him afterwards he never heard. The lad had no hair upon his body, nor had any dislike to wear clothes, while he saw him. The statement was confirmed by the people of the village.

Case VI. from *A Journey through the Kingdom of Oude*

About seven years ago a trooper belonging to the King and in attendance on Rajah Hurdut Sing of Bondee, alia, Bumnotee, on the left bank

¹² Commonly reported of feral man that they smell food before eating. (Zingg)

¹³ A canine trait learned from dogs? (Zingg)

on the Ghagra river, in the Bahraetch district, was passing near a small stream which flows into that river, when he saw two wolf cubs and a boy drinking in the stream. He had a man with him on foot, and they managed to seize the boy, who appeared to be about ten years of age. He took him up on the pommel of his saddle, but he was so wild and fierce that he tore the trooper's clothes and bit him severely in several places, though he had tied the hands together. He brought him to Bondee, where the Rajah had him tied in his artillery gun-shed, and gave him raw flesh to eat; but he several times cut his ropes and ran off; and after three months the Rajah got tired of him, and let him go. He was then taken by a Cashmeeree mimic, or comedian (bhand), who fed and took care of him for six months; but at the end of that time he also got tired of him (for his habits were filthy) and let him go to wander about the Bondee bazaar. He one day ran off with a joint of meat from a butcher's shop, and soon after upset some things in the shop of a *bunneeah*, who let fly an arrow at him. The arrow penetrated the boy's thigh. At this time Sanaollah, a cashmere merchant of Lucknow, was at Bondee, selling some shawl goods to the Rajah, on the occasion of his brother's marriage. He had many servants with him, and among them Janoo, a khidmutgar lad, and an old sipahee, named Ramzan Khan. Janoo took compassion upon the poor boy, extracted the arrow from his thigh, had his wound dressed, and prepared a bed for him under the mango tree, where he himself lodged, but kept him tied to a tent-pin. Janoo, with the consent of his master, gave him rice and pulse to eat. He rejected them for several days, and ate nothing; but Janoo persevered, and by degrees made him eat the balls which he prepared for him; he was fourteen or fifteen days in bringing him to do this. The odour from his body was very offensive,¹⁴ and Janoo had him rubbed with mustard-seed soaked in water, after the oil had been taken from it (khullee), in the hope of removing this smell. He continued this for some months, and fed him upon rice, pulse, and flour bread, but the odour did not leave him. He had hardened marks upon his knees and elbows, from having gone on all fours. In about six weeks after he had been tied up under the tree, with a good deal of beating and rubbing of his joints with oil, he was made to stand and walk upon his legs like other human beings. He was never heard to utter more than one articulate sound, and that was "aboodeea," the name of the little daughter of the Cashmeer mimic, who had treated him with kindness, and for whom he had shown some kind of attachment. In about four months he began to understand and obey signs. He was by them made to prepare the hookah, put lighted charcoal

¹⁴ A rather garbled reprint of this in *Lippincott's Magazine* (LXI p. 122) gives here a footnote reference to a remark of Mr. Theobald of the Geological Survey of India, "it would have been more satisfactory if there was some definite evidence forthcoming how far this might have been affected by a good washing." (Zingg) See p. 169, at fn. 37.

upon the tobacco, and bring it to Janoo, or present it to whomsoever he pointed out.

One night while the boy was lying under the tree, near Janoo, Janoo saw two wolves come up stealthily, and smell at the boy. They then touched him, and he got up;¹⁵ and instead of being frightened, the boy put his hands upon their heads, and they began to play with him. They capered around him, and he threw straw and leaves at them. Janoo tried to drive them off but he could not, and became much alarmed; and he called out to the sentry over the guns, Meer Akbur Allee, and told him that the wolves were going to eat the boy. He replied, "Come away and leave him, or they will eat you also"; but when he saw them begin to play together, his fears subsided and he kept quiet. Gaining confidence by degrees, he drove them away; but, after going a little distance, they returned, and began to play again with the boy. At last he succeeded in driving them off altogether. The night after three wolves came, and the boy and they played together. A few nights after four wolves came, but at no time did more than four come. They came four or five times, and Janoo had no longer any fear of them; and he thinks that the first two that came must have been the two cubs with which the boy was first found, and they were prevented from seizing him by recognising the smell. They licked his face with their tongues as he put his hands on their heads.

Soon after his master, Sanoallah, returned to Lucknow, and threatened Janoo to turn him out of his service unless he let go the boy. He persisted in taking the boy with him, and his master relented. He had a string tied to his arm, and led him along by it, and put a bundle of clothes on his head. As they passed a jungle the boy would throw down the bundle and try to run into the jungle, but on being beaten, he would put up his hands in supplication, take up the bundle and go on; but he seemed soon to forget the beating, and did the same thing at almost every jungle they came through. By degrees he became quite docile. Janoo was one day, about three months after their return to Lucknow, sent away by his master for a day or two on some business, and before his return the boy had ran off, and he could never find him again. About two months after the boy had gone, a woman, of the weaver caste, came with a letter from a relation of the Rajah, Hurdut Sing, to Sanaollah, stating that she resided in the village of Chureyakotra, on his estate, and had had her son, then about four years of age taken from her, about five or six years before, by a wolf; and, from the description which she gave of him, he, the Rajah's relation, thought he must be the boy whom his servant, Janoo, took away with him. She said that her boy had two marks upon him, one on the

¹⁵ A similar thing is reported of bears with one of the Lithuanian Bear-children. See p. 213 at fn. 25. (Zingg)

chest of a boil, and one of something else on the forehead; and as these marks corresponded precisely with those found upon the boy, neither she nor they had any doubt that he was her lost son. She remained for four months with the merchant Sanaollah, and Janoo, his kidmutghur, at Lucknow; but the boy could not be found, and she returned home, praying that information might be sent to her should he be discovered. Sanaollah, Janoo, and Ramzan Khan, are still at Lucknow, and before me have all three declared all the circumstances here stated to be strictly true. The boy was altogether about five months with Sanaollah and his servants, from the time they got him; and he had been taken about four months and a half before. The wolf must have had several litters of whelps during the six or seven years that the boy was with her. Janoo further adds, that he, after a month or two, ventured to try a waist-band upon the boy, but he often tore it off in distress or anger. After he had become reconciled to this, in about two months, he ventured to put upon him a vest and a pair of trousers. He had great difficulty in making him keep them on, with threats and occasional beatings. He would disencumber himself of them whenever left alone, but put them on again in alarm when discovered; and to the last often injured or destroyed them by rubbing them against trees or posts, like a beast, when any part of his body itched. This habit he could never break him of.

Rajah Hurdut Sewae, who is now in Lucknow on business, tells me (28th January, 1851) that the sowar brought the boy to Bondee, and there kept him for a short time, as long as he remained; but as soon as he went off, the boy came to him, and he kept him for three months; that he appeared to him to be twelve years of age; that he ate raw meat as long as he remained with him, with evident pleasure, whenever it was offered to him, but would not touch the bread and other dressed food put before him; that he went on all fours, but would stand and go awkwardly on two legs when threatened or made to do so;¹⁶ that he seemed to understand signs, but could not understand or utter a word; that he seldom attempted to bite anyone, nor did he tear the clothes that he put upon him; that Sanaollah, the Cashmeeree merchant, used at that time to come to him often with shawls for sale, and must have taken the boy away with him, but he does not recollect having given the boy to him. He says that he never himself sent any letter to Sanaollah with the mother of the boy, but his brother or some other relation of his may have written one for her.¹⁷

¹⁶ Since the mother revealed the boy to have been four years of age when taken by wolves, he might have remembered how to walk awkwardly on his legs. (Zingg)

¹⁷ The most doubtful case was that of an old man Sleeman saw and about whom he says. Maj.-Gen. W. H. Sleeman: *A Journey through the Kingdom of Oude (in 1849-50)*, p. 221:

It is remarkable that I can discover no well established instance of a man who had been

Conclusions of Sir William Sleeman

From what I have seen and heard I should doubt whether any boy who had been many years with wolves, up to the age of eight or ten, could ever attain the average intellect of man. I have never heard of a man who had been spared and nurtured by wolves having been found; and, as many boys have been recovered from wolves after they had been many years with them, we must conclude that after a time they either die from living exclusively on animal food, before they attain the age of manhood, or are destroyed by the wolves themselves, or other beasts of prey, in the jungles, from whom they are unable to escape, like the wolves themselves, from want of the same speed. The wolf or wolves, by whom they have been spared and nurtured, must die or be destroyed in a few years, and other wolves may kill and eat them. Tigers generally feed for two or three days upon the bullock they kill, and remain all the time, when not feeding, concealed in the vicinity. If they found such a boy feeding upon their prey they would certainly kill him, and most likely eat him. If such a boy passed such a dead body he would certainly feed upon it. Tigers often spring upon and kill dogs and wolves thus found feeding upon their prey. They could more easily kill boys, and would certainly be more disposed to eat them. If the dead body of such a boy were found anywhere in the jungles, or on the plains, it would excite little interest where dead bodies are so often found exposed, and so soon eaten by dogs, jackals, vultures, etc., and would scarcely ever lead to any particular inquiry.

Case VII. Wild-child reported from Sultanpur

We are rather more tantalized than satisfied by an account of a case that showed behavior much in common with General Sleeman's cases as well as with the wolf-children of Midnapore. This is cited and briefly summarized in *Lippincott's Magazine* (LXI p. 120) from an original

nurtured in a wolf's den having been found. There is, at Lucknow, an old man who was found in the Oude Tarae, when a lad, by the hut of an old hermit who had died. He is supposed to have been taken from wolves by this old hermit. The trooper who found him brought him to the King some forty years ago, and he has been ever since supported by the King comfortably. He is still called the "wild man of the woods." He was one day sent to me at my request, and I talked with him. His features indicate him to be of the Tharoo tribe, who are found only in that forest. He is very inoffensive, but speaks little, and that little imperfectly; and he is still impatient of intercourse with his fellow-men, particularly with such as are disposed to tease him with questions. I asked him whether he had any recollection of having been with wolves. He said, "The wolf died long before the hermit"; but he seemed to recollect nothing more, and there is no mark on his knees or elbows to indicate that he ever went on all fours. That he was found as a wild boy in the forest there can be no doubt; but I do not feel at all sure that he ever lived with wolves. (Zingg)

communication to *The Field* (London, No. 9, 1895, No. 2237 p. 786). This is given below and while the account is better than many, it is still inadequate. This is the more to be regretted because of the considerable recovery of this alleged wolf-child. This was greater than any reported for any wolf-children from India, though three European cases made equal or greater recoveries (see this work p. 252 ff.). On the face of it, this account is not impossible especially considering the extreme youth, four years, of this child, when he was brought to Sultanpur. Except for Amala, who unfortunately died within a year, this is the youngest case of a wolf-child that I have been able to find.

The account of this child from the English official in India to whom it was reported, and who says he saw it repeatedly, is as follows:

Suppositious Wild Man

Sir,—When I was Assistant-Commissioner of Sultanpore, Oude, shortly after the Mutiny had been quelled, either in 1860 or 1861, the police brought in a male child which they declared they had recovered from a wolf den. Whether this was true or not I cannot positively assert, but inquiries were made at the time, and there seemed no reason for doubting it.

As regards the child, I saw him when he was first brought in, and almost daily until I left the station. He seemed to be about four years old, and sat up like a dog, both arms straight down in front of him, with his hands flattened out on the ground, and his legs drawn up under him like a dog; he moved by hops something like a monkey, but never stood up on his legs, and always kept his hands on the ground. He gave vent to snarls and sounds, not actual barks like a dog, but something between a bark and a grunt.¹⁸ He would not touch cooked food, but ate raw meat ravenously. The police officer took charge of him, and gradually broke him in to taking milk, then milk and bread, and so on. He certainly was not an idiot, for, after being tamed, he was sent to school, and eventually taken into the police force. Everyone at the time considered it a clear case of a wolf-child. Whether such things are, or were, will always be a disputed point. I see no reason against it, and the natives thoroughly believe in the idea: but at the same time, they believe in many legends which are absolutely absurd.

That wolves carry off a very large number of small children is beyond all doubt. In the hot weather the poorer classes sleep outside their huts, often on the ground, the mothers with their suckling children by their sides, but not protected by wraps of any kind. A wolf sneaks about after midnight, his stealthy tread not being heard; the village dogs bark and

¹⁸ Compare with sounds reported of wolf-children of Midnapore. (Zingg)

growl, but so they do at jackals, and no notice is taken of it. Finding a small child lying beside, but not actually in the arms of its mother, the wolf seizes it quietly and gently, and makes off in the same stealthy manner as he came; the mother wakes, her child is gone, nothing can be done, although she well knows what has become of it. If the child cries and people, awakening, start up, the wolf dashes off with his prey. Sometimes the pursuit is swift, and he has to drop it, but as a rule he gets clear away with it. In this manner hundreds of children are, or were carried away annually in former years, and far more human life in the shape of suckling children was lost than all that the tigers and rogue elephants killed.

The chief haunt of wolves used to be old ruined forts, which, in Oude, at any rate, were surrounded by dense belts of thorn trees and bamboos, and were seldom visited except by shikarries in search of wild pigs. It was in these places that the wolf-children were supposed to be found. Population has now increased, cultivation extended, and a much larger number of cattle reared, so that these wild haunts are invaded, the jungle cut down, and the wolves moved on and forced to live further away from habitations, and there is little chance now of wolf-children being heard of.

The idea about wolf-children is that a suckling child is brought to the den of a she-wolf who has suddenly lost her young; the child commences to suck the she-wolf, and the mother instinct of the latter being roused, she rears the child.

It is worthy of note that in many of the cases where the woman has been awakened, given timely alarm, and pursuit was immediate, and the wolf compelled to drop his prey, the child has been picked up unhurt. I had personal experience of this once when in the Rhine district. I was out before sunrise trying for bustard; I heard a great shouting from a village near at hand, presently a wolf dashed past quite close. I fired and badly wounded him; he escaped into some reeds fringing a stream, but I saw in the dim light that he had dropped something. On going up I found a baby lying on the ground crying, but apparently unhurt. The villagers came up about the same time and carried the child away to the mother, and it lived all right. At this lapse of time I cannot remember whether the child was bitten or not, but I rather think not; at any rate, it could not have been badly bitten. All this shows that a good big wolf can carry away a small child without necessarily killing it. I do not see why the rest should not follow; at any rate it gives good grounds for the general belief on this subject.

Hercules Grey Ross.

Case VIII. Wolf-boy of Shahjehanpur

Apparently another case of a wolf-child was seen by the two witnesses of 1858 quoted in *Lippincott's Magazine* (LXI, 1898, p. 121) in an excellent article "Wolf-children":

Also Mr. Greig, late of the 93rd (Sutherland) Highlanders declares that when his regiment was marching toward Bareilly in 1858, after the taking of Lucknow, he saw at Shahjehanpur an individual said to have been, as a child, taken away from his village by wolves, brought up by them, and to have lived with them for several years. He appeared to be about twenty years of age; his body was covered with short brown hair;¹⁹ his powers of speech extended to nothing beyond low grunts, and he could not be induced to wear any kind of clothing. Whenever he saw raw meat he rushed for it and devoured it greedily. The story was that he had been ridden down and caught by a native after a long chase, and that he did not run on his feet like a human being, but on all fours like an animal.²⁰

The same wolf-child was also seen by H. D. Willock of the Bengal Civil Service, also cited in *Lippincott's Magazine* as above. His complete communication to *The Field* will be quoted here:²¹

Supposititious Wild Man

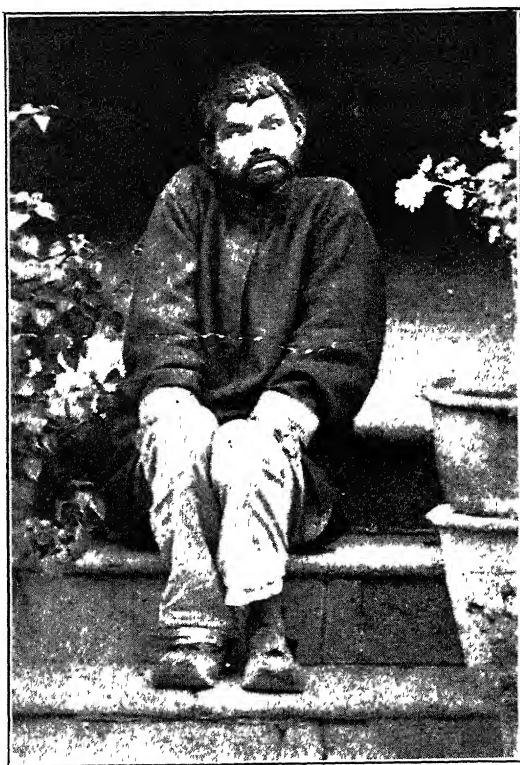
You ask me if I ever heard of a "wolf boy" mentioned by an officer of the 93rd Highlanders as having been seen by him at the Rosa Sugar Factory (situated some three miles from Shahjehanpore) in 1858. I saw such a boy, or rather a man, and had opportunities of learning his history and observing his condition and habits. I have every reason for supposing that the man alluded to by the officer spoken of was the same I also saw. I was posted to Shahjehanpore in September, 1858, shortly after the re-occupation of the district, and, going into camp at once, returned to the station in the following month. It was then that I heard of the presence of a "wolf boy" in the city. I found him occupying a hut in a serai allotted to him by the proprietor. He was to all appearance about twenty years of age, in manners and habits a mere animal. He was dumb, but able to show signs of pleasure or anger by sounds which may be described as grunts. He wore no clothing, save a rag which had to be tied around his waist. He could stand, but invariably crawled, the skin of his knees being hardened like leather. He occupied his hut at night only, passing the day in prowling about the city, receiving and eating scraps of food thrown to

¹⁹ Another case of hairy feral man. See p. 149, at fn. 11. (Zingg)

²⁰ The original citation for this is *The Field* (London) Oct. 12, 1895, No. 2233, p. 691.

²¹ *The Field*. Jan. 11, 1896, No. 2246, pp. 36, 37.

him by the residents, who regarded him as one afflicted by the Deity, and as such a fit object for charity. At night he lay in his hut curled up on a bed of straw, which supplied all his requirements; while a blanket placed for his use by me was disregarded and unused. He formed no attachments, and seemed to be devoid of passions or intellect.



Sanichar the Wolf-boy of the Sikandra Orphanage

I remained at Shahjehanpore till 1865, and saw him frequently. He was, I believe, alive when I left. In 1857 all public offices were destroyed, and I was unable to find any file or record giving particulars of his early life. But from a reappointed member of the magistrate's staff, I heard that some fourteen years previously, a mounted orderly, when returning from the magistrate's camp in the forest, saw a wolf cross his path, followed by a figure which he at once recognised as that of a boy. It ran at no great pace on its hands and knees. He dismounted and captured it after a short chase. It bit and scratched with great energy, but he took it to Shahjehan-

ally, but very slowly he learnt to go to Church, and would go along with the boys. When the time came for hymn singing, he would stand with the rest of the boys, and keep on shouting "Wa, Wa,"²² and when the prayers came he would stand up and say "Dham, Dham."

SANICHAR.

This year we have to record the death of Sanichar, the famous wolf-boy, an inmate of the Institution for so many years. Visitors from all parts of the world came to see him, one of whom suggested that I might add to the funds of the Orphanage by hiring him out to some "travelling company or circus." Needless to say I told him the C. M. S. did not collect funds or carry on its work in that way. He died in October—but had been gradually failing in health for nearly a year. We sent him once to the Agra Hospital, but he pined for Secundra and came back again. In the early part of the year, a young man died of consumption. He had been kind to deaf and dumb Sanichar. So when Nathaniel was buried (for he attended almost every funeral) the other boys pointing upwards tried to make him understand where he had gone. He must have remembered this, for when he got very weak, he seemed to be conscious that his death was near, for one day he made a sign that the grave would be dug, that the Padri Sahib would read from the book, and then pointing to himself and then upward, that he would go there too.

He was an object of much interest to some, and of sceptical doubts to others. We hope to erect a simple tomb stone over his grave.

Death notice of the Sikandra Wolf-boy as printed in report of the Sikandra (Agra) Church Mission Report for 1895

The boys who sat next to him would try and quiet him, and he learnt to obey them. At times he would get excited again, and on he would go with the "Dham, Dham," but after a while he dropt this practice.

But it is worthy of notice that he kept his plate and glass which he used for his meals very clean, and he was never happy to have torn or patched clothes. He used to look up at the sun, staring right at it, and

²² Kamala of Midnapore is reported as disturbing the singing in church with her vocal efforts. (See p. 106, fn. 2.)

chatter away to it. He lived in Sikandra for some thirty years or so, and died of T. B. He never learnt to read, or speak properly. He was very fond of smoking tobacco and charas.

The literature gives us a short communication in 1873 regarding this boy from the then Superintendent of the Sikandra Orphanage, Mr. Erhardt.²³ Writing specifically about another wolf-child at the same orphanage he says about Sanichar:

The other boy found among wolves is about thirteen or fourteen years old, and has been here almost six. He has learnt to make sounds, speak he cannot; but he freely expresses his anger and joy; work he will at times a little; but he likes eating better. His civilization has progressed so far that he likes raw meat less, though he still will pick up bones and sharpen his teeth on them. . . .

The facility with which they get along on four feet (hands and feet) is surprising. Before they eat or taste any food they smell it, and when they don't like the smell, they throw it away.²⁴

In his book, *Jungle Life in India*,²⁵ Mr. V. Ball of the Geological Survey of India records his impressions of Sanichar, then fifteen, on the occasion of Ball's visit to the Orphanage of Sikandra about 1874.

I shall describe the result of my visit to the orphanage. On my arrival there, Mr. Erhardt very kindly sent over for the boy to the school and he was led in by the hand. He presented an appearance not uncommonly seen in ordinary idiots. His forehead was low, his teeth somewhat prominent, and his manner restless and fidgety. From time to time he grinned in a manner that was more simian than human, the effect of which was intensified by a nervous twitching of the lower jaw. After taking a sort of survey of the room and the people in it, he squatted on the ground, and, constantly placing the palms of his hands on the floor, stretched in different directions, picking up small objects such as fragments of paper, crumbs, etc., and smelling them as a monkey would do. I was told that he depends much more upon the organ of smell than on that of taste for the identification of objects, and his conduct while I watched him fully

²³ V. Ball, Esq. B. A. Geological Survey of India: "Notes on children found living with Wolves in the North Western Provinces and Oudh." *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. Jan. to Dec. 1873, p. 129. Calcutta, G. H. Rouse, Baptist Mission Press, 1873.

²⁴ Another case of smelling food before eating. (Zingg)

²⁵ Valentine Ball, M. A. (Geological Survey of India): *Jungle Life in India: or the Journeys and Journals of an Indian Geologist*, London, Thos. de la Rue and Company, Bunhill Row, 1880. This passage shows also a crude cut illustration of the boy, whose photo taken much later is given in the present work. The pictures are similar only in the shortness of the arms. (Zingg)

bore out the statement. On being shewn a guava he exhibited much excitement, writhing about and stretching out his hands for it. When it was given him he first smelt it all over very carefully, and then holding it close to his mouth proceeded to gnaw it. He was then given some unripe *Karaunda* (*Carissa carandas*, Linn.) fruit. Having smelt them he shewed signs of uneasiness which were interpreted by those standing by as indicating a want of salt to allay the acidity—it having been given to him on previous occasions. He was a somewhat slenderly built lad, standing about five feet three inches, and was considered by Mr. Erhardt to be about fifteen years of age, and had been then (1874) nearly nine years in the orphanage. He has acquired some knowledge of locality and can go about the grounds by himself, but could not do so when Mr. Erhardt first took charge of the Orphanage. Without constant supervision it is found to be impossible to keep him to any work. He will for instance carry a basket while watched, but immediately drops it when left alone.²⁶ The feature in his physical structure which above all others attracted my particular notice was the shortness of his arms, the total length being only nineteen-and-a-half inches. This arrested growth was probably caused by the fact of his having gone on all fours in early life,²⁷ as all these wolf-boys are reported to have done when first captured. Mr. Erhardt not having been in charge of the orphanage when this boy was brought in, could give no further particulars regarding his capture than those contained in his, above quoted, letters; but a native guide in Agra whom I interrogated as to whether he had any knowledge of the subject, told me that rather less than nine years previously he was in the magistrate's court when this boy, the body of an old wolf, and two wolf cubs were brought in. At that time the boy was a perfect *Janwar* (wild beast). He went on all fours, refused all kinds of cooked food, but would eat any amount of raw meat. For some time he was kept by the Civil Surgeon of Agra, bound down on a *charpoy*, or native bedstead, in order to straighten his legs, and several months passed before he was able to maintain an erect position.

So famous was this Sikandra case that the literature gives us another record of a much later visit to the Orphanage to see Sanichar. This is reported in the excellent article "Wolf-children" in *Lippincott's Magazine* (LXI p. 123) as follows:²⁸

Again Mr. A. F. Mackenzie, while at Agra in October 1893, drove out to Secondra, saw the so-called wolf-boy, and purchased his photograph,

²⁶ Wild Peter had to be constantly supervised at work. (See p. 187, at fn. 19, Zingg)

²⁷ This is probably a mistaken inference. (Zingg)

²⁸ Original source: *The Field* (London) November, 1895, No. 2237, p. 745.

also a book which purported to narrate his life.²⁹ The story was that in 1867 some natives came upon a child and a she-wolf, both of which disappeared into a cave and were subsequently smoked out; and the child being captured on Saturday was named after the day of the week (Sanichar). "He was eventually tamed, and when I saw him was deaf and dumb. He had a wild look about him, but his appearance quite belied his history; although half-witted, he fully appreciated the value of a rupee, and was very fond of tobacco. . . ."

This Sikandra case presents unusually good evidence of actual association of the child with wolves. As has been mentioned in several of the foregoing accounts, native hunters killed the wolf and two cubs at the orders of the magistrate and brought the wolf carcasses together with the child to the court to collect the wolf-bounty.²⁹

The best account of the capture of Sanichar I could find, due to the failure to come by the pamphlet issued by the Orphanage, is given in an article in the *Literary Digest*, "India's Wolf Children found in Caves," (Volume 95 pp. 54-56) as recently as 1927, when interest in wolf-children was high in the Press because of the reports of finding the wolf-children of Midnapore, then being published. I will quote this *in extenso*, in lack of other primary sources, because of its detail all of which is consistent with the scattered accounts which I have just given about this boy.

Alleged wolf-children used to be discovered frequently in India.

Most of them have been discovered in the Province of Oudh (United Provinces) where the Maiwana case was reported.

The orphanage maintained by the Church Missionary Society at Secundra, near Agra has sheltered a number of alleged wolf-children.

The most famous of them, the one commonly known as the Secundra wolf-boy, is the best authenticated case within the memory of living man. The boy was captured in 1867 by a shooting expedition in the unfrequented jungles of Bulandshahr. The hunters surprised a stray wolf, which they followed to a small mound of earth with a flat-topped rock sticking out of the mound. A small, strange-looking animal was asleep in the sun on the rock.

To the amazement of the hunting party, it proved to be a boy, who leaped from the rock as soon as he saw the hunters and, running on all fours, disappeared into a cave along with the startled wolf.

²⁹ Among many references in the literature of Sanichar, as late as 1938, Hewett, Sir John: *Jungle Trails in Northern India*, London, Methuen and Company, 1938, pp. 15-20.

There is an earlier one: Prideaux, W. F., "Wolf Boys," *Notes and Queries* 6th series, Volume 12 (1885), p. 178, which gives the name of the English magistrate, Mr. Lowe, the then Collector of Bulandshahr.

The hunters were either unable or afraid to go further; but, feeling that something ought to be done, they returned to Bulandshahr, and consulted with the magistrate. They were advised to go back to the cave and smoke out the wolf and its weird companion. This they did. The wolf was shot as soon as it rushed out and its companion was pounced upon and captured after a severe struggle, during which several members of the party were bitten. Two wolf cubs were also killed, and the party returned to the magistrate to claim a reward for the dead wolf and the dead cubs, and to exhibit the human being they had captured.

The wolf bounty was paid and the wolf-boy was sent to the Secundra Orphanage. He was thought to be about seven or eight years old.

For a long time he tore off the clothes that were supplied him and persisted in eating his food from the ground. As the years went by he became more docile and eventually was baptised, taking the name of Sanichar, which is the Hindustani for Saturday, the day on which he was captured.

His head was small, his forehead low and narrow; his eyes were large and gray and restless. He squinted incessantly and when walking lifted his feet high like a man walking through wet grass, his entire body moving in a series of jerks.

There were large scars on his face, supposedly the marks of bites. His arms were only nineteen inches long, and scientists who examined him believed that their development had been arrested by his habit of moving on all fours.

He lived in the orphanage for thirty years, but never learned more than a few words.

Here the New York editor (*New York Times*) is mentioned as quoting "General Burton, who recognized an element of doubt concerning wolf-children, but nevertheless wrote confidently" (referring to the same case):

"Several wolf-boys have been kept at the Secundra Orphanage at Agra, where one of them was seen by Valentine Ball, of the Survey of India of 1874. He had been nine years at the institution, and was supposed to be about fifteen. Ball mentioned the shortness of his arms, only nineteen inches in length, as being due to arrested growth through his going on all fours. He was said to have been brought into the Magistrate's Court with a body of a she-wolf and two cubs, exhibited for reward, with whom he had been found. . . ." ³⁰

General Burton's letter drew one from a former Governor of Agra and Oudh, who saw the Secundra wolf-child in 1877, and a generation later

³⁰ Burton, Brig. Gen. R. G.: "Wolf Children—the Records Examined," *London Times*, April 8, 1927, p. 17, Column 5.

had a talk with the father in charge. Of that particular counterpart of Mowgli we learn:

The wolf-child lived to be between thirty and forty; "was strongly addicted to tobacco" O excellent wolf!³¹ "and never spoke." General Burton, still under the spell of skepticism, thinks that "wolf-children are always males."

Case X. Second Sikandra wolf-child of 1872

Mr. Ball tells us that his interest was first attracted to wolf-children through reports of another case in 1872, which also reached the Sikandra Orphanage. His account is as follows:³²

From Delhi I pushed on to Agra, arriving there on the morning of the 3rd of August. Having seen some of the sights of the city, I drove on to Sekandra, in order to visit the Orphanage, and avail myself of the opportunity, for the first time afforded to me of making enquiries on the spot regarding the reputed finding of boys living with wolves as their foster parents. A year previously, as I shall presently show, I had been instrumental in drawing attention to the cases of wolf-reared children which had been reported, and I was most anxious to examine one of the boys myself. But before giving an account of the results of my enquiries, and a *resumé* of the existing literature of the subject, I wish to say, by way of preface, that I have found that this subject is one which the majority of people seem unable to discuss without prejudice. They make up their minds that the whole thing is a myth, before they have heard what evidence can be adduced in its favour. I am, unfortunately, not in a position to give any personal testimony of importance; all that I can do is to place the evidence available before the reader. In the first published communication on this subject which I made to a learned Society,³³ I ad-

³¹ This editorial interpolation appears unnecessary; see missionaries' statement of 1938, p. 16. (Zingg)

³² V. Ball, M. A.: *Jungle Life in India*, pp. 454-5 and 457-8.

³³ V. Ball, Esq. B. A., Geological Survey of India: "Notes on Children found living with wolves in the North Western Provinces of Oudh." *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, edited by the Honorary Secretaries. Jan. to Dec. 1873. Calcutta. G. H. Rouse, Baptist Mission Press 1873. July No. pp. 128-30. Ball wrote to the then Superintendent of the Orphanage, the Rev. Erhardt, and communicated his answer to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in a paper an abstract of which appeared as follows:

The author after some prefatory remarks gives the following extract from a letter he had received . . . in reply to his request for information regarding a boy in that institution, who was alleged to have been found living with wolves.

"We have had two such boys here, but I fancy you refer to the one who was brought to us on March 5th, 1872. He was found by Hindus, who had gone hunting wolves in the neighborhood of Mynpuri. He had been burned out of the den, and was brought here with the scars and wounds still on him. In his habits he was a perfect animal in every point of

vocated, as I do now, that the matter should, on the first recurrence of an opportunity, be strictly enquired into, and that it should not in the future be approached in the hostile and incredulous spirit which has hitherto prevailed. My paper, which was presented during my absence in Europe, met with some opposition, but subsequently saw the light in the form of an abstract. It however attracted the attention of Professor Max Müller, who, in the pages of *The Academy*, pointed out the importance of the subject, and quoted a selection from the recorded cases of wolf-reared children. At the same time he strongly urged upon sportsmen, naturalists, and district officials, the desirability of carefully investigating on the spot, the probability and possibility of such cases being true. . . .³⁴

My attention was, in the first place, drawn to this subject by the following extract from the Report of the Sekandra Orphanage which, towards the end of the year 1872, went the round of the Indian papers:—

view. He drank like a dog, and liked a bone and raw meat better than anything else. He would never remain with the other boys, but would hide away in any dark corner. Clothes he would never wear, but tore them into fine shreds. He was only a few months among us as he got a fever and gave up eating. We kept him for a time by artificial means, but he eventually died. . . .”

The writer then draws attention to a remarkable feature in all the stories, viz., that the wolves are invariably alleged to have communicated much of their natural ferocity and notably untamable disposition to their foster children, and attempts to account for their somewhat unworldlike treatment of them.

The author, in conclusion, states that his object in putting forward this account is to bring about a thorough investigation of a subject which, if these stories of wolf-reared children could be substantiated, must prove of considerable physiological interest and importance.

Mr. Blanford said he could not think the evidence adduced by any means satisfactory and he would be glad could any one endowed with some amount of judicial scepticism, visit the Secundra Orphanage and ascertain as far as possible on what kind of testimony these accounts of wolf-children really rested. He did not of course question that the Superintendent of the Secundra Orphanage wrote in good faith that which he really believed.

After some discussion it was agreed, on the motion of the President, that the Secretary should write to the Superintendent of the Secundra Orphanage . . . so as to obtain, if possible, further information on the subject.

³⁴ Ball, *Jungle Life in India*, p. 455.

The interest of the great linguist Max Müller in wolf-children was relative to their language. Ball quotes his article *in extenso*, which shows that Müller reviewed Sleeman's cases and then concluded:

There are other cases, but those which I have selected are to my mind the best attested. They all share one feature in common, which is of importance to the student of language more even than the student of mythology, viz., the speechlessness of the wolf-children. It was this fact, more than the bearing of these stories on a problem of mythology, which first made me collect the evidence here produced; for as we are no longer sufficiently wolfish to try the experiment which is said to have been tried by a King of Egypt, by Frederic II., and James IV., and one of the Mogul Emperors of India (*Lectures on the Science of Language*, 7th Ed., Vol. I., p. 394), viz., to keep babies in solitary confinement in order to find out what language, if any, they would speak, these cases of children reared by wolves afford the only experimental test for determining whether language is an hereditary instinct or not. Cf. Müller, Max, "Wolf-Children," *The Academy*, 6 (1874) 512-513.

"A boy of about ten *was burned out of a den in the company of wolves*. How long he had been with them it is impossible to say, but it must have been for rather a long period from the facility he has for going on all fours, and his liking for raw meat. As yet he is very much like a wild animal; his very whine reminds one of a young dog or some such creature. Some years ago we had a similar child; he has picked up wonderfully, and though he has not learned to speak, can fully express his joys and grief. We trust that the new 'unfortunate' may soon improve too."

I immediately wrote to the Superintendent of the Sekandra Orphanage for confirmation of the story, and for any further information on the subject. To this application, I received the following reply from the Rev. Mr. Erhardt. . . . (This communication is given on page 165, fn. 33. Zingg)

Though this wolf-boy in the Secundra Orphanage, who had been reported as smoked out of a wolf's den in 1872, was already dead at the time of Ball's visit to the Orphanage in the next year, he gives us the following information which he got there from the Superintendent the Rev. Erhardt:³⁵

Regarding the boy which was brought to the orphanage on the 5th of March, 1872, Mr. Erhardt said that on his arrival he would not touch any food in the form used by human beings; at the same time he was too young and weak to have provided himself with any, but he would eat raw meat ravenously. Observing these facts and also sundry wounds and burns on the body, Mr. Erhardt sent for the people who had brought in the child, and then first heard that he had been smoked out of a wolf's den. While he lived at the orphanage, which was only about four months, he used occasionally to get loose at night, when he would prowl about the ground searching for bones. Shortly after his arrival he made an effort to escape into the jungle, but was captured and brought back. During the whole time he uttered no sound save a melancholy whine like that made by young cubs. A strange bond of sympathy attached these two boys (he and Sanichar) together, and the elder one first taught the younger to drink out of a cup. While the younger boy remained alive Hindus frequently came to the orphanage and applied for permission to make their salaams to him, being under the impression that by so doing they, through his influence with the wolves, would avert any loss or injury to their families and flocks.³⁶

³⁵*Ibid.*, p. 461.

³⁶ A recent but undated clipping from the *Statesman* (Calcutta) apparently discussing this case, has reached my hands from the Rev. R. Bryan, St. Thomas's Church, Free School Street, Calcutta, through the kindness of Bishop H. Pakenham-Walsh. This clipping from the "Kim Column" under the heading *Wolf-Children* is as follows:

The literature reveals some negative comments on these Sikandra cases. *Lippincott's Magazine* (LXI p. 123) cites and summarizes two criticisms of the same year of 1872, quoting for one of them *The Field* (London, Oct. 19, 1895, No. 2234, p. 636). This is a communication from Mr. P. Wigram, which will be quoted in full as follows:

I made several inquiries regarding these in 1872, but the result was not satisfactory. I heard of five. Three of these proved to be merely idiots, who had been found by the police wandering, and the only reason for supposing that they had been amongst wolves were their bestial habits, and the common belief in wolf-children.

To the Editor of the *Statesman*.

Sir: Your report of the Wolf-children at Midnapur will recall to the memories of those who knew India in the days when Rudyard Kipling wrote "Mowgli," the tale of the wolf-boy of Sikandra Agra.

He died, I believe, in 1894, or thereabouts, at the C.M.S. School in Sikandra, near Mariam's tomb. His history as told by the resident missionary was on this wise:—

In 1886 or so, some beaters after big game saw what they believed to be a man-child sitting on a rock outside the cave of a wolf in Bulandshahr District. They represented the fact to the Collector of the District who bade them to get the child at any cost. When the men returned to the cave the wolf defended the child fiercely, guarding the entrance to the cave. So the men lighted a fire, and when she came out, shot her and took the child, a boy, who himself fought furiously at being separated from the wolf.

The medical report made at the time put him at about twelve years of age. It was surmised that he had been with the wolves since infancy, licked and tended and fed as if he were himself a wolf-cub. His skin was rough and scabious, but otherwise he was in good health. He had evidently used the all-fours position all his life, and was short waisted, the lower limbs being overdeveloped owing to the long hind loup of the wolf, say the doctors. He could, however, sit like any human, and often did so, as when he was discovered by the shikaris. But he could not stand for long. The Collector gave him to the Mission at Sikandra, Agra, where he lived until he died. He had a low-browed face and squinting eyes—as if he had long looked over now this shoulder and now that, when he was a wolf. The mission in well-intentioned ignorance promptly put him into a coat and trousers, and insisted on his standing upright—which probably was agony to the child whose muscles had developed in the all-fours position. He never succeeded in standing quite erect, however, and looked a tall ungainly creature in his English garments.

He hated sleeping under a roof, or eating cooked food. To tear raw meat from a bone or to grub for food in the earth, was what he wanted. I believe he escaped to the jungle more than once, but was recaptured, and eventually settled down. He was a great mimic, and had a sense of fun somewhere deep down in him: but he never became really articulate in any language. Though the missionaries learnt to interpret the sounds he uttered, they never discovered how far he realized his past history, or his heritage as a man. I have heard it said that scientists would have given much to have had him under observation.

He died, it was said of smoking. (The correspondent apparently has this second Sikandra case mixed with Sanichar) The first time that he saw a man smoking a cigar, he yelled with joy, and pulled it out of his mouth to experiment with himself. Who can tell what impelled this—memory of a human ancestor, or joy that a wolf could get so near to fire without fear? But thereafter he was allowed to smoke, and it did not suit his constitution.

C.S.

The other two were in the Church Missionary Society's Orphanage at Secundra. They were said to have been dug out of dens in 1867 and 1872, but I could not find any sort of inquiry into this statement, nor even exactly where they were found. It may have been true, or they, like the first three, may have been merely idiots. Details would, I fear, take up too much of your space, but I should be glad to give them to anyone who may be interested. . . . P. Wigram (12A Savile Row)

One regrets that Mr. Wigram did not submit his whole case to *The Field*, so that we might know what efforts he made to check the story at the time. The court records regarding the payment of the bounty for the wolves killed when the children were rescued might easily have been available in 1872. Though a negative critic, Wigram's investigations at the time did not warrant his denial of the possibility that the Sikandra cases of 1867 and 1872 were really those of feral man.

A sometime colleague of Ball's, Mr. W. Theobald, of the Geological Survey of India,³⁷ whose contribution about bathing wolf-children has been noted (see p. 151, fn. 14) is quoted in *Lippincott's Magazine* (LXI p. 122) as adding this sarcastic note to the discussion of the wolf-children at the Secundra Orphanage:

He pertinently calls attention to the fact that the reception of wolf-children at the Secundra Orphanage at different times, "appears to have created no more surprise than the delivery of the daily supply of butcher's meat; and as for attempting any inquiry into the evidence, which at that time might have been forthcoming, the idea apparently never entered the minds of the missionaries who have these institutions in charge, nor does it appear that any rigorous attempts to sift the evidence regarding the previous history of these cases were made by the civil officers of the district."

These criticisms are hardly merited considering Ball's attempt to get the Asiatic Society of Bengal to investigate the case, nor by the promptness of the Superintendent, the Rev. Erhardt, in writing Mr. Ball regarding the cases. Besides writing to Ball about this boy who was smoked out of a wolf's den and only lived a short time, as well as about Sanichar, the Rev. Erhardt refers, though inaccurately, in his letter to another case (which was apparently one that Sleeman had reported in 1850), who by 1872 was an "elderly fellow in the Lucknow Mad-house."³⁸

³⁷ Theobald, W.: A communication. *The Field*, 87 (1896) p. 102.

³⁸ This is probably the case in 1894 which fell down under the scrutiny of Dr. W. W. Ireland, *Mental Affections of Children*, ca. p. 400:

On reading a paragraph in an Indian newspaper about a "wolf-boy" who had been

Case XI. Leopard-boy of India

Though Kamala died in 1929 there are reputable accounts of other wild children that are worth checking, who are possibly alive in India today.

Professor J. H. Hutton, William Wyse Professor of Social Anthropology, St. Catherine's College, Cambridge University,³⁹ in the *London Times* of July 24, 1939, communicates the following reference to such a case, with which he became familiar while serving in the high scientific position as Director of the Census of India. This case, reported in the *Journal of the Bombay Natural History Society* by Mr. E. C. Stuart Baker in 1920, is the more interesting because it is the only one involving a

handed over to Dr. Whishaw of the Lucknow Lunatic asylum, I lost no time in writing to Dr. John Whishaw, begging him to give some information about the truth of this case, which, for the first time, seemed to have come under the observation of one of our own profession; and I am sorry, in the interest of the marvellous, that his reply seems to throw discredit upon the whole matter. Here is a part of his letter dated Lucknow, January 19th, 1874:—

"The boy is fourteen and an imposter; he was made up to get money under false pretences. I found him out. He was certified to be dumb, but after he had been ten days with me he talked very well, argued, and described his life in the wolves' den. He said that the wolves resided about half a mile from the village in which his relations lived, but yet, that for five years was not discovered, nor had he the curiosity to go and see what was going on in his paternal abode.

"He showed me the way in which he used to play with the young wolves. When the papa and mamma went out in search of food for the family he usually remained behind. Sometimes, however, he was allowed to go with them; and if one could judge of the pace he could go by the specimen of it I made him show the visitors of the asylum, the wolves would have had but poor sport and a bad dinner on the day this gentleman joined in their wild sports.

"I believe never in this world has there been an instance of a child being brought up by wolves, and I cannot understand how anybody can believe in such a thing.

"The majority of wolf-boys are idiots, taken by their parents and left near some distant police station."

³⁹ Professor Hutton in his Presidential Address to the Folk Lore Society (of England) 21st Feb. 1940, which has been published as an article, "Wolf-Children" *Folk-lore*, 51:9-13, 1940 gives references to other possible cases, which have been cited critically by Professor David Mandelbaum "Wolf Child Histories from India."

He lists as unknown to the present writer a seventeenth one: (17) 1916. In that year a youth was seen at Satna, Rewa State, Central India, by a Mr. C. H. Burnett of Denmark Road, Leicester. The stationmaster at Satna told Mr. Burnett that the boy was carried off by wolves when a baby and rescued years afterwards. The youth "had very peculiar habits, and could not speak a word of any language."

(18) About 1923. Girl of European origin rescued from a pack of jackals and kept for a time by the Maharani of Cooch Bahar. "Proved far less responsive than children brought up by wolves. She hankered always for the jungle, and whenever her former comrades howled at night would respond with whimpering whines and paw frantically at windows and doors in the frantic effort to escape." Died in a few months. This information from a brief report in the *Illustrated Weekly of India* (Feb. 5, 1933, p. 37).

leopard foster mother. There was an isolated and brief mention of this case,⁴⁰ which I took as fantastic, especially since so fierce an animal as the leopard was involved. Yet this case has been again brought to attention through so distinguished a correspondent to the London *Times* as Professor Hutton, whose experience in India makes him an excellent judge of its credibility. Such things counterindicate rejecting this or any other case without every possible checking.

The data on this case follow:⁴¹

Before leaving the subject of feline senses it may be of interest to relate a story of a leopard-child which has not yet ever been published though it was pretty well known at the time.

In the North Cachar Hills, where the boy was found . . . when questioning a man why he wanted exemption from such labor he told me that he had a little "wild" son to look after and as his wife had recently died, he could not leave the village to work or the boy would run back to the jungle.

I accordingly went outside the court to see the "wild child" and satisfied myself as to the truth of the story. There sure enough outside was a small boy about seven years of age, or less, squatted on the ground like a small animal; directly I came near him he put his head in the air and sniffed about, finishing by bolting on all fours to his father between whose legs he looked like a small wild beast retreating into a burrow. Looking closer at the child I saw that he was nearly or entirely blind from some form of cataract and his body was covered with the white scars of innumerable healed tiny cuts and scratches. Struck with his appearance I asked the father to tell me about the boy and he then narrated the following wonderful story which I fully believe to be true, but which my readers must accept or not as they think fit.

It appears that about five years before I saw the father and son, the Cachari villagers of a village called Dihungi, had found two leopard cubs close to their village which they killed. The mother leopard had tracked the murderers of her children back to the village and had haunted the outskirts for two days. The third day a woman cutting rice in some cultivation close to the village laid her baby boy down on a cloth whilst she

⁴⁰ "Wolf Children of India," *Living Age*, Volume CCCXXXII, 4307 pp. 1020-1022, June 1, 1927. This article, like that in the *Literary Digest*, Volume 95, October 8, 1927, pp. 54-56, is principally about a then current case, that of Maiwana, some 75 miles from Allahabad in British India. In 1927 he was reported in a mental hospital in Bareilly, but my correspondence with India on this case has so far revealed only that the Institution is now closed, so I have added nothing to the meager notes given in the above articles, which are certainly worth checking farther.

⁴¹ Baker, E. C. Stuart, F.Z.S., F.L.S., M.B.O.U.: "The Power of Scent in Wild Animals," *Journal of the Bombay Natural History Society*, Volume XXVII, July, 1920, pp. 117-118.

went on with her work. Presently hearing a cry, she turned around and saw a leopard bounding away and carrying the child with it. The whole village at once turned out and hunted for the leopard and baby but without success and finally they were forced by darkness to leave the boy, as they supposed to be eaten by the leopard.

Some three years after this event a leopardess was killed close to the village by a sportsman who brought in the news of his success together with the information that the leopard had cubs which he failed to secure. On hearing this the whole village turned out and eventually captured two cubs and one child, the boy of this story. He was at once identified by his parents, claimed by them, and their claim admitted by the whole village.

Subsequently when visiting Dihungi I interviewed the head man and also the man who actually caught the child and they both corroborated the father's tale in every detail. It appeared that at the time he was caught the child ran on all fours almost as fast as an adult man could run, whilst in dodging in and out of bushes and other obstacles he was much cleverer and quicker.⁴² At that time he was only suffering from cataract to a slight extent and could see fairly well, but after he was caught his eyes rapidly became worse. His knees, even when I saw him and he had learnt to move about upright to a great extent, had hard callosities on them and his toes were retained upright almost at right angles⁴³ to his instep. The palms of his hands and pads of toes and thumbs were also covered with very tough horny skin. When first caught he bit and fought with everyone who came within reach of him and, although even then affected in his eyes, any wretched village fowl which came within his reach was seized, torn to pieces and eaten with extraordinary rapidity.

When brought before me he had been more or less tamed, walked upright when startled into extra rapid motion, was friendly with his own villagers whom he seemed to know by scent, would eat rice, vegetables, etc., and consented to sleep in his father's hut at night. Clothes, being a Cachari child of tender years, he had not been introduced to.

His blindness was not in any way due to his treatment by the leopard—if the story is true—as I found that another child, a couple of years older, and the other also had the same cataract. At the same time the defective sense of sight may well have intensified his smell as the loss of the one must have caused him to rely more on the other. When caught the child was in perfect condition, thin but well covered, and with a quite exceptional development of muscle.

⁴² Similar details given of the wolf-children of Midnapore, see pp. 16, 17.

⁴³ The same feature is reported by the Rev. Singh of the wolf-children of Midnapore, see p. 26, fn. 7.

Case XII. Jhansi Wolf-child

The Jhansi wolf-child is even more significant in the possibilities of still being verified than the foregoing leopard-child which Mr. Baker has reported as having been checked among the many villagers who rescued him from the leopardess. The Jhansi case reports a child actually rescued from a wolf by a British officer at Jhansi. We have written Dr. Antia, the Chief Medical Officer of Gwalior, but so far have not had a reply. The brief published note on this case is as follows:⁴⁴

Truth in the wilds is ever stranger than fiction. If a novelist had built a story around a man brought up by wolves critics would have smiled and thought merely of Tarzan and other fantasies. Yet a British Officer at Jhansi has rescued a child from a pack of wolves which brought it up. This strange creature has been exhibited at the Gwalior Baby Week, presumably as a bait to draw people to see the more instructional exhibits of these excellent shows. At the moment Dr. Antia, the Chief Medical Officer of Gwalior, is trying to cure the child of the wild habits it has learnt from its wild companions in the jungle, and the method of progression on all fours has already been changed to the upright carriage. The Indian *beriya*, or wolf, is found in Rajputana particularly and in most other parts of India except Lower Bengal. Considering that it frequently carries off children besides sheep and goats, it is remarkable this child was allowed to live. There must be a wealth of romance in the action of the she-wolf whose maternal instinct befriended the child and fed it.

The most recently reported case of a wolf-child in India is as late as 1927, just after the time that the reports of the Midnapore cases, herein described, of 1920 also reached the press. The case of 1927, the Maiwana wolf-child, is discussed in current magazines. *The Literary Digest* for October 8, 1927, p. 54 (Volume 95) has the following to say about this case, and much more about Sanichar (see p. 171, fn. 40):

. . . the Maiwana wolf-child captured seventy-five miles from Allahabad in British India—is taken seriously by writers noted for their hatred of sensationalism. The child, a boy, supposed to be between seven and twelve years old, “is able to stand” and “walks with a fair degree of ease,” but at times “prefers to crawl, sitting on his haunches with his legs curled underneath him and propelling himself forward with the palms of his hands on the ground.” As we are told, “doctors who have examined him say that he has lived on roots and herbs for years. Although he is now given meat, he frequently eats grass when taken out in the cool of the evening. He has

⁴⁴ *The Illustrated Weekly of India*, “The Wolf Child,” February 5, 1933, p. 37.

a voracious appetite, is subject to fits, and at times exhibits fierceness. His only talk is a kind of bark, which he keeps up continuously." On the left side of his face he has a scar which local doctors believe may have been inflicted by a wolf; and "the scar drags his left eye down in an unnatural expression." He was found by herdsmen in a wolf's cave, and a London dispatch to the Baltimore *Evening Sun* tells us that he is now in a home for mental sufferers at Bareilly. . . .

There is another article in the same year in the *Living Age*, Volume 332, No. 4307, June 1, 1927, pp. 1021-2, which adds a few more facts though telling essentially the same story. The appropriate parts will be quoted in excerpts:

The recent rescue near Allahabad of a seven-year-old boy who was discovered living with wolves in a cave brings up one of the most baffling problems of the jungle. . . . The boy is completely wild, he moves at great speed on his hands and knees, his back is covered with heavy callouses, and he barks loudly but cannot speak. His appearance is normal, but he is subject to fits during which he attacks human beings, bites his own body, and devours earth. Usually docile, he occasionally develops great strength, but is never able to distinguish between the two chief elements in his diet, grass and roots. At present he is locked behind bars, pending his transfer to an asylum.

The original dispatches from the *New York Times*⁴⁵ appear to have been the sources for these data in the magazine articles. They follow:

Allahabad, British India, April 5, 1927.—Herdsmen near Maiwana, seventy-five miles from here, found a small Indian boy, supposed to be about ten years of age, in a wolf's den. From the marks in the den it is obvious that the boy had been living there. He was unable to talk or walk properly, but went on all fours, lapped water and ate grass.

The boy was brought here, put in a special lockup and supplied with

⁴⁵ *New York Times*, April 6, 1927, p. 4, column 2; and April 27, 1927, p. 11, column 4.

Dr. Thomas M. Galey of Owensboro, Ky., sent me the following later clipping from the *New York Times* dated May 31, 1927, which adds a few more details:

Hindu Boy, Reared by Wolves, Barks Aloud.

London:—Following a report from herdsmen of the presence of a "wolf-child" in the Maiwana District, India, Allahabad police discovered hiding in a natural cave many miles from the nearest human habitation, a male child, apparently 7 years. On the child's hands and knees and back are protuberances resembling hardened corns. It crawls rapidly in a half-sitting posture, its hands acting as paws, though it is able to stand.

The creature is unable to speak; instead it barks loudly. It is subject to fits during which it will attack human beings and be extremely violent, but when sane it is comparatively docile. Presumably, the child was adopted by wolves in very early youth. Having lived on roots, it is unable to differentiate between grass and root crops. The face is normal except that the eyes droop. There is a deep scar on the left cheek. As the phenomenon is completely devoid of human sense it will be sent to Bareilly Asylum for treatment.

food and medicine. At night he barked, bit himself and other people and had to be tied down. He is very thin and emaciated, but his limbs are otherwise well formed. He has a terrible scar on one side of his face as if he had been mauled by some animal. . . .

Additional information comes with a London date-line:

London, April 26.—Further information is now available about the so-called "wolf-child," whose discovery near Maiwana, British India . . . provoked so much discussion. . . .

The boy found in Maiwana is judged to be between 7 and 12 years old and in general appearance is said to be little different from an ordinary child, but in his actions betrays signs that are declared to point to his bringing up with wolves. He can stand up and walk, but sometimes prefers to crawl, sitting on his haunches with his legs curled up and propelling himself forward with the palms of his hands.

His knees (rather than his back, as the *Living Age* said—Zingg) are hardened as if used to frequent crawling on the ground and there are also calli on the palms of his hands.

The medical conclusion is that the chief sustenance of the child consisted of roots and herbs for years. He is now getting meat and other foods, which he appreciates, but frequently eats grass. He has a prodigious appetite. The boy is subject to fits⁴⁶ and is at times ferocious. Before removal to a mental home he several times attacked two policemen guarding him. He has also bitten himself and shows signs of sores on his shoulders and legs. A kind of bark which is his only means of vocal expression is continuously and vigorously employed. . . .

These two despatches are given in a recent sociological textbook (1937) Sutherland and Woodward, *Introductory Sociology*,⁴⁷ in a discussion of "The Raw Material of Socialization." Probably the sociological utilization of the data on feral man, which has had the greatest influence in the United States is Park and Burgess's *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*.⁴⁸ In 1921 they quoted the slight collection of materials on feral man given by Small in his synthesis of the various data on the problem of Isolation.⁴⁹ Park and Burgess's use of even this small part of Small's bril-

⁴⁶ Almost all cases of feral man are reported as thrown into something like fits or spasms soon after re-entry to society, apparently because of the strain of adjustment to such different conditions from those of their isolation. (Zingg)

⁴⁷ Sutherland, Robert L., and Woodward, Julian L.: *Introductory Sociology*, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1937, pp. 153 ff.

⁴⁸ Park, Robert E., and Burgess, Ernest W.: *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, The University of Chicago Press, 1921, pp. 239-43.

⁴⁹ Small, Maurice H.: "On Some Psychical Relations of Society and Solitude," *Pedagogical Seminary*, Volume VIII, No. 2 (1900), p. 32 ff.

liant essay has justly recovered it from the obscurity of its original publication. Small's short essay discusses other forms of Isolation not at all involved in this study of feral man.

A recent textbook, Lumley, *Principles of Sociology*⁵⁰ briefly discusses this sort of isolation and feral man, cautiously citing two new cases, one of which is probably a hoax, as he suggests.⁵¹ His citation as cases of isolation the two children brought up on a river boat in sight of New York City, shows that such cases are all about us. The problem of the apparent low mentality of canal-boat children in England is treated by the psychologist Frank S. Freeman in a discussion of "Mentality in Relation to Early Opportunity" in a recent book (1934), *Individual Differences*.⁵² Citing also the case of the Wild Boy of Aveyron in a footnote, Freeman emphasises the importance of the conditioning of the earliest years of human infancy. He notes the biologists' stress on the importance of the environmental conditions in all organic development in the very earliest phases, quoting Jennings, *The Biological Basis of Human Nature* (pp. 94 ff.). Freeman continues by pointing out that thyroid treatments of cretinism are most successful if the treatment is begun early enough.

Freeman concludes, as in 1885 did Rauber, the German writer on feral man (see pp. 247, 248):

... the extent and form of mental development are dependent in part upon conditions or factors of the individual's environments during his developmental period, and in particular during the years of infancy and childhood. There is an optimum period for the stimulation and exercise of genetic mental potentialities; but very unfavorable or intellectually impoverished environments during that period will frustrate or abort mental development, so that late, deferred opportunity for mental activity can have only a very limited improving effect. This doctrine is in no way contrary to genetic theory; nor, consistently with Jennings' statements, does it minimize the importance of the genetic basis of individuality. The theory does, however, deny that mental development is a mere unfolding process or that mentality will develop in a vacuum. It denies also that the environmental factors may only *help* or *hinder* the process of development; it states, on the contrary, that *environmental conditions are themselves an integral part of the process of development.*

⁵⁰ Lumley, Frederick Elmore: *Principles of Sociology* New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1928, pp. 111 ff.

⁵¹ The hoax appears to have been the account in the *International News Service* Oct. 27, 1924, from Cairo, Illinois, of a wild boy caught in Pulaski County. A letter of inquiry from the present writer to the editor of a newspaper of Cairo, Illinois, elicited no reply.

⁵² Freeman, Frank S.: *Individual Differences*. N.Y., Henry Holt and Co., 1934, pp. 113-120.

CHAPTER II

Early General Discussions of the Classic Cases of Feral Man: Wild Peter, Clemens of Overdyke, etc.

THE term and concept of feral man (*L. ferus*, "wild") was first taken from the realm of myth and history into organized science by the great scientific systematizer, Carl Linnaeus (b. 1707, d. 1778). He included *Homo sapiens ferus* in the tenth and subsequent editions of his early and great work, *Systema naturae*, 1758. He considers *Homo ferus* (generally given elsewhere as *Homo sapiens ferus*) as a subdivision of *Homo sapiens* in the order of the primates, which includes man and the apes. Linnaeus's classification of man and the apes is as follows:¹

1. Homo. Nosce te ipsum.
sapiens. h. diurnus, varians cultura, loco.
ferus. Tetrapus, mutus, hirsutus
Iuv. ursinus Lithuanus 1661. Iuv. lupinus Hassianus 1544
(1344). Iuv. ovinus Hibernus, Tulp. obs. III, 9. Iuv. bovinus
Bambergensis Camerar. Iuv. Hannoveranus 1724. Pueri Pyrenaici
1717. Puella transisalana 1717. Puella Campanica 1731. Johannes
Leodicensis Boerhavii.
Americanus. Europaeus. Asiaticus. Afer. Monstrosus.
2. Simia

Linnaeus's inclusion of feral man provided a focus of controversy that has continued until the present day, with the majority of scientists believing them a myth that Linnaeus had been credulous and uninformed in including. The controversy is natural, due to the rarity of the cases as well as the antiquity and remoteness of most of the few cases reported. Of all of the thirty-one that have accumulated since his meager nine, only the recent case of the wolf-children of Midnapore of 1920 fulfills all the primary conditions for an acceptable scientific datum. It is unique in that five people are on record as having seen the children living with the animals. One (Mr. Rose) may still be alive, although we have been in touch

¹ *Systema naturae*, Tomus I, Ed. 10th. (1758), p. 21.

only with the rescuer, the Rev. J. A. L. Singh, "The Orphanage," Midnapore, India.

The meager data of his day was tersely summarized by Linnaeus as "Tetrapus, mutus, hirsutus." All the cases of men associated with animals are dumb and four-footed in locomotion. But by no means all are hairy. Linnaeus's classification of feral man was based on the following cases:

1. Lithuanian bear-boy, 1661
2. Hessian wolf-boy, 1344 (Linnaeus by a misprint dates this 1544)
3. Irish sheep-boy, reported by Tulp, 1672
4. Bamberger cattle-boy, end of the 16th century (a poor case)
5. Wild Peter of Hanover, 1724
6. The Pyrenees boys, 1719 (a most dubious case)
7. The girl of Cranenburg, 1717, *Puella transisalana*
8. The Songi girl from Champagne, 1731, *Puella campanica*
9. Jean of Liège (a poor case).

Buffon introduced feral man to the French in his famous works in the 1750's.² Apparently from him the concept first fell into the unscientific hands of Rousseau, who in his essay on Inequality (1754),³ reviews the data on No. 2, the Hessian wolf-boy (see also p. 206):

Il y a divers exemples d'hommes quadrupèdes et je pourrai citer entre autres celui de cet enfant qui fut trouvé en 1344 auprès de Hesse, où il avait nourri par des loups, et qui disait depuis à la cour du prince Henri, que, s'il n'eût tenu mieux aimé retourner avec eux que de vivre parmi les hommes. Il avait tellement pris l'habitude de marcher comme ces animaux qu'il fallut lui attacher des pièces de bois qui le forçaient à se tenir debout et en équilibre ses deux pieds.

The romantic and revolutionary philosophy of Rousseau was able to assimilate this instance of feral man as congenial to his entire philosophy that the tendency of civilization is degrading. One can little doubt but that the radicals of the present day, as those of Rousseau's, will grasp at the sort of material in this work, if they hear of it, as proof that man is completely a creature of his own environment, and for their thesis that human nature is a product of it. For that thesis, unfortunately, there is lacking a case of a wolf or other animal being educated into the behavior of a man.

² I am unable to cite Buffon's treatment for lack of the original encyclopedic works. (Zingg)

³ J. J. Rousseau. "Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes," 1754. (Raubert)

Thus the present writer cannot assert such a strong influence for the consequences of environment, however strong it may be. One inclines more to the realism of Voltaire who gave Rousseau this characteristically acrid reply, cited by Blumenbach in his discussion of feral man (see p. 190, fn. 22):

If you met a wandering bee, would you not conclude that the bee is in a state of pure nature; and that those which work in society at the honeycombs are degenerated?

Thirty years after the romantic treatment of feral man by Rousseau is the next important literary and philosophic discussion of feral man. This time it is a brief part in a more substantial contribution from the German romantic philosophy. This is Herder's great work, *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, the first part of which was published in 1784. It still has enough scientific interest to be cited in histories of Anthropology.

Herder's citing of feral man has no such sweeping theoretical implications as that of Rousseau. His discussion is merely in connection with mankind's characteristic upright position, from which Herder gives a pre-evolutionary argument against man's descent from lower forms of animals. In his third book, part VI on "Organic Differences Between Animals and Men," he summarizes his argument which indicates his interest in the use of the data on feral man.

Were man ever a four-footed creature, and had he been that for many centuries, he would surely still be one, and only the miracle of a new creation could have reshaped him into what he is now, and as we have known him throughout history and all of experience.⁴

Herder apparently became acquainted with feral man through Schreber's contribution to German knowledge of an encyclopedic natural history, similar to Buffon's more famous and earlier works. Schreber's work,⁵

⁴ Johann Gottfried Herder: *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*. Erster Theil, Riga und Leipzig bei Johann Friedrich Hartknoch, 1784. (*Deutsche National-Litteratur* Vol. 77 pp. 107-109.)

⁵ Dr. Johann Christian Daniel von Schreber: *Die Säugethiere in abbildungen nach der Natur mit Beschreibungen*. Fortgesetzt von Dr. August Goldfusz, Professor der Naturgeschichte an der Universität der Bonn. Erlangen, in der Expedition des Schreber'schen Säugthierund des Esper'schen Schmetterlingswerkes. The titles of the author, as given on the title page of the work are distinguished: "Präsident der Kais. Königl. Akademie der Naturforscher, Königl. Preuss. geheimer Hofrath und ordentlicher erster Lehrer der Naturgeschichte und Arzneikunde auf der Friedrich-Alexanders Universität, mehrerer gelehrten Gesellschaften Mitglied, etc.

on the mammals alone, appeared from 1774 to 1846 in eight volumes. The first volume includes: Man, the Apes, the Monkeys, Lemurs, and the Bats. In his discussion of Man, Schreber gives the detailed data on eight of Linnaeus's nine cases of feral man, putting the Bamberger case in a footnote, where it deserves to be. To the remainder of Linnaeus's cases, Schreber adds: 1, the second wolf-boy from Germany, that of Wetterau of 1344 (he says 1544); and 2, the second of the Lithuanian bear-boys of 1694, to which a third was later added (see p. 215).

Schreber's data will be given later where all the contributions to the various instances are collected. Here it may be worth while to translate his introductory paragraph which shows that his interest in the problem was opposed to the romantic interpretation of Rousseau. He says:⁶

But what is the natural condition of man? Is he by nature wild, as part of the worldly wise assert and the return-to-nature enthusiasts (*Naturkündiger*) assert? The sad picture which is sketched of man in his original condition is four-footed; covered with hair; without speech or reason; equal to the animals in the sharpness of the senses, strength of body and ability in the use of his limbs; but, like animals, not social.

Schreber's conclusions have no great significance in the light of modern problems. He says that these cases do not show feral man to be any different physically from ordinary men, having no greater sharpness of the senses or physical strength than an ordinary man, if he wished to apply himself to their development. Another of his conclusions is that in feral man only reason and language were lacking as a result of isolation from human contact. On the meager evidence available when he wrote, Schreber was possibly justified in his incorrect final conclusion that reason and language developed in feral man soon after contact with human beings. We shall see that only rarely has that been true.

Also in France, scientists were opposing the revolutionary thesis of Rousseau as late as 1812. In that year F. J. Gall and G. Spurzheim⁷ generalize on the subject of feral man without much regard for the facts of the particular cases, except for brief notes on two other possible cases, not elsewhere mentioned so far as I have been able to find. They say:⁸

Some think that they can prove that man is born without faculties and interests, and that he acquired his mental and moral faculties only by

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁷ F. J. Gall and G. Spurzheim: *Anatomie et Physiologie du system nerveux en général et du cerveau en particulier*. F. Schoell, Rue des Fosses, St. Germaine, L'Auxerrois No. 29, Paris, 1812, 19, 4 Vol. II.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

education, citing as instances the example of some of the "savages" found in the woods who, not having received any education, have nothing except the brutality of the animals, being deprived of human faculties.

This objection falls when one says that these savages found in the woods are generally miserable creatures of an imperfect organization as MM. Roussel (*Système physique et moral de la femme*) and de Tracy (*Ideologie* p. 246) have also remarked in this regard. . . .

After a general discussion attributing to all cases all the external attributes of idiocy including hydrocephaly and microcephaly, which is not reported for a single case, the authors then give two new possible cases, as follows:⁹

We are told that in the Hospital of Haina in Marburg sometimes the imbeciles kept there have escaped; and, when they were followed, it happened that other ones have been found who had escaped from other places, and who were clad only in the shreds of their clothes. Near Augsburg we have seen an insane woman found in a forest. At Brunswick we were shown an imbecile woman, who had been discovered in a wood lying on her side with open eyes, but unable to speak.

Voltaire's realistic sally against the instance adduced for Rousseau's romantic philosophy was implemented by the scientific realism of Blumenbach¹⁰ who merely lamented Herder's step aside in citing cases of feral man. He also thereby attacked the great Linnaeus at the weakest point in his classification of the animals, feral man. This not altogether fair attack did not stop scientific comments on the problem.

The great German naturalist, Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1752-1840) was twenty-six years old at the death of Linnaeus, the scientific idol of his day. Just three years before Linnaeus's death, Blumenbach defended for the M.D. a thesis, "On the Natural Variety of Mankind" (1775). This early and significant book on races not only gave Blumenbach his right to the title of father of Anthropology, but also naturally attracted his atten-

⁹ F. J. Gall and G. Spurzheim, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

¹⁰ Joh. Fr. Blumenbach was born in Gotha of parents who were in educational circles. He attended school in Gotha, Jena, and Göttingen, taking a medical degree in 1775 defending a thesis "On the Natural Variety of Mankind," published the same year. In 1776 he was appointed extraordinary professor of medicine at Göttingen. For sixty years he was associated with this university in professorial capacity, becoming a very influential figure. He traveled very little but was a reader both voracious and discriminating. He was honored and loved by his associates; and died in 1840 in his 88th year.

Summarized from, Thomas Bendyshe: *The Anthropological Treatises of Johann Friedrich Blumenbach*. Published for the Anthropological Society (London) by Longman, Roberts, and Green. 1865. (Zingg)

tion to the variety of man, *Homo sapiens ferus*, which Linnaeus had set up.

It was many years later in 1811 that Blumenbach reviewed the whole problem of feral man, giving the data in some detail, even if inadequately and unfairly, on all the cases of feral man cited by Linnaeus. This was in his paper,¹¹ "Regarding *Homo sapiens ferus* Linn. and particularly Wild Peter of Hameln."

Wild Peter was Linnaeus's case No. 5 *Iuv. Hannoveranus* of 1724, a case reported from Hanover. Like many others he reached the hands of the king, in this case King George of Hanover and England.

The King took Wild Peter to England where he attracted great attention due to the interest of that time in the doctrine of innate ideas. Almost a century later, Blumenbach went through Hanoverian archives in Hameln and elsewhere and uncovered data which (one agrees with Rauber)¹² makes this paper a primary source on Wild Peter, even though we can hardly agree with Blumenbach that Wild Peter has no more interest than any "poor dumb idiot" (see p. 191). The data of Blumenbach, like that of the rest of the commentators on the problem of feral man, will be presented here *in extenso*, in this case from Bendyshe's translation.¹³

Case XIII

Contributions to Natural History, J. F. Blumenbach

Part the Second

I

How Wild Peter was found and brought prisoner to Hameln

On Friday, July 27th, 1724, at the time of hay harvest, Jürgen Meyer, a

¹¹ Joh. Fr. Blumenbach: "Vom *Homo sapiens ferus* Linn. und namentlich von Hamelmischen wilden Peter." pp. 10-44. *Beyträge zur Naturgeschichte, Zweyter Theil*. Göttingen bey Heinrich, 1811.

¹² August Rauber: *Homo sapiens ferus*, p. 36, summarizes Blumenbach's contribution to the primary data on Wild Peter: Ein handschriftlicher, zum Teil ausführlicher Bericht des Hame'schen Bürgermeisters Severin, den dieser in Februar 1726 an einen Hannover'schen Minister, abstattete.

Ungedruckte *Collectanea* des vaterländischen Chronisten und Kammerschreibers Redeker, auf dem Rathaus zu Hameln befindlich.

Notizen über Peters spätere Lebensweise in England, welche Blumenbach theils selbst sammelte, theils von Freunden in England erwarb. Niedergelegt von Blumenbach in seiner Abhandlung über wilden Peter. Joh. Fr. Blumenbach, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

¹³ Bendyshe, Thomas: *The Anthropological Treatises of . . . Blumenbach*. Longman, Roberts, and Green, London, 1865.

townsman of Hameln, met, by a stile in his field, not far from Helpensen, with a naked, brownish, black-haired creature, who was running up and down, and was about the size of a boy of twelve years old. It uttered no human sound, but was happily enticed, by its astonished discoverer showing it two apples in his hand into the town, and entrapped within the



Copper etching of Wild Peter, said to be a good likeness. From Blumenbach's *Beyträge zur Naturgeschichte*

Bridge-gate. There it was at first received by a mob of street boys, but was very soon afterwards placed for safe custody in the Hospital of the Holy Ghost, by order of the Burgomaster Severin.

II

What happened to Wild Peter in Hameln

Peter—that was the name given him on his first appearance in Hameln by the street-boys, and he retained it up to quite old age—Peter showed himself rather brutish in the first weeks of his captivity; seeking to get out

at doors and windows, resting now and then upon his knees and elbows, and rolling himself from side to side in his straw bed until he fell asleep. He did not like bread at first but he eagerly peeled green sticks, and chewed the peel for the juice, as he also did vegetables, grass, and bean-shells. By degrees he grew tamer and cleaner, so he was allowed to go about the town and pay visits. When anything was offered him to eat, he first smelt it, and then either put it in his mouth, or laid it aside with a shake of the head. In the same way he would smell people's hands, and then strike his breast if pleased, or if otherwise shake his head. When he particularly liked anything, as green beans, peas, turnips, mulberries, fruit, and particularly onions and hazel-nuts, he indicated his satisfaction by striking repeatedly on his chest. Just when he was found by Jürgen Meyer he had caught some birds, and eagerly dismembered them.

When his first shoes were put on him he was unable to walk in them, but appeared glad when he could go about again bare-footed. He was just as little pleased with any covering on his head, and extremely enjoyed throwing his hat or cap into the water and seeing it swim. He first of all became used to go with clothes on, after they had tried him with a linen kilt. In other respects he appeared of quite a sanguine temperament, and liked hearing music; and his hearing and smell were particularly acute. Whenever he wanted to get anything he kissed his hands, or even the ground.

After some time Peter was put out to board with a cloth-maker. He adhered to this man with true attachment, and was accompanied by him when he went from thence, in Oct. 1725, to Zell, into the hospital there, situated by the House of Correction; but about Advent in the same year King George I. sent for him to Hanover.

III

Peter arrives in England, and now becomes famous

In Feb. 1726, under the safeguard of a royal servant, by the name Rautenberg, Peter was brought from Hanover to London; and with his arrival there began his since so widely-spread celebrity. This was the very time when the controversy about the existence of innate ideas was being carried on with the greatest vivacity and warmth on both sides. Peter seemed the much-wished-for subject for determining the question. A genial fellow, Count Zinzendorf, who afterwards became so famous as the restorer and Ordinary of the Evangelical Brotherhood, as early as the be-

ginning of 1726, made an application on London, to the Countess of Schaumburg-Lippe,¹⁴ for her interest, that Peter might be entrusted to his charge, in order that he might watch the development of his innate ideas; but he received for answer that the king had made a present of him to the then Princess of Wales, afterwards Queen Caroline, well known as one of the most enlightened princesses of any age; and that she had confided him in trust to Dr. Arbuthnot, the intimate friend of Pope and Swift, and the famous collaborator of *Gulliver's Travels*, still for the purpose of investigating the innate ideas of Wild Peter.

Swift himself has immortalized him, in his humorous production, *It cannot rain, but it pours*.¹⁵ Linnaeus gave him a niche in the *Systema Naturae*, under the title of *Juvenia Hannoveranus*: and Buffon, de Pauw, and J. J. Rousseau, have enrolled him as a specimen of the true natural man. Still more recently he had found an enthusiastic biographer in the famous Monboddo, who declares his appearance to be more remarkable than the discovery of Uranus, or than if astronomers, to the catalogue of stars already known, had added thirty thousand new ones.¹⁶

IV

Peter's Origin

It is a pity, after all the importance which the great people attached to Wild Peter, that two little circumstances in the history of his discovery should be left out of sight, or neglected; which I will here repeat, as far as possible, from the earliest original documents, which I have before me. First, when Peter was, as I said, met by the townsman of Hameln, the small fragment of a torn shirt was still fastened with string about his neck.

¹⁴ A. G. Spangenberg: *Leben des Grafen Zinzendorf und Pottendorf*, II (1772) gives the following letter from Countess Schaumburg-Lippe to Count Zinzendorf regarding Wild Peter: "I want to give you also news about the wild boy, of whose education you wanted to take care. People have given themselves all the trouble to teach him how to talk: so that one would hear something from him about his past existence, if possible something about his notions. But he has until today hardly learned enough to ask in English for the most necessary things. His hearing is good, but his pronunciation is more like babbling than like distinctive speech. He does not know how to answer any question, and his memory is not as good as an animal's instinct. In conclusion, his nature lacks humanness and there is no hope that he will ever learn anything." Quoted in Rauber; *Homo Sapiens Ferus* (1888) p. 38. (Zingg)

¹⁵ Or, *London strewed with Rarities*, (Ed.).

¹⁶ "I consider his history as a brief chronicle or abstract of the history of the progress of human nature, from the mere animal to the first stage of civilized life." *Ancient Metaphysics*, Vol. III, p. 57. (Blumenbach)

Secondly, the singularly superior whiteness of his thighs compared to his legs, at his first entry into the town, occasioned and confirmed the remark of a townswoman, that the child must have worn breeches, but no stockings. Thirdly, upon closer examination, the tongue was found unusually thick, and little capable of motion, so that an army surgeon at Hameln thought of attempting an operation to set it free, but did not perform it. Fourthly, some boatmen related, that as they were descending in their boat from Poll, in the summer, they had seen at different times a poor naked child on the banks of the Weser, and had given him a piece of bread.¹⁷ Fifthly, it was soon ascertained, that Krüger, a widower of Lücktringen, between Holzminden and Höxter, in Paderborn, had had a dumb child which had run away into the woods, in 1723, and had been found again in the following year, quite in a different place; but meanwhile his father had married a second time, and so he was shortly afterwards thrust out again by his new step-mother.

V

Peter's Life and Conduct in London

Dr. Arbuthnot soon found out that no instructive discoveries in psychology or anthropology were to be expected from this imbecile boy; and so, after two months, at the request of the philosophic physician, a sufficient pension was settled upon him, and he was placed first with a chamberwoman of the Queen, and then with a farmer in Hertfordshire, where at last he ended his vegetatory existence as a kind of very old child, in Feb. 1785.

Peter was of middle size, but when grown up of fresh robust appearance, and strong development; his physiognomy was by no means so stupid; he had a respectable beard, and soon accustomed himself to a mixed diet of flesh, etc., but retained all his life his early love for onions. As he grew older he became more moderate in his eating, since in the first year of his captivity he took enough for two men. He relished a glass of brandy, he liked the fire, but showed all his life the most perfect indifference for money, and what proves, above all, the more than brutish

¹⁷ Tafel: *Fundamentalphilosophie*, pp. 83-4 fn. throws some doubt on Blumenbach's unsupported statement about Wild Peter's being seen by sailors by quoting the *Breslauer Sammlung* Supplement 4, p. 76, a very different story which is mere rumor anyway. (Zingg)

and invincible stupidity of Peter, just as complete an indifference for the other sex.¹⁸

Whenever bad weather came on, he was always ill-tempered and sad. He was never able to speak properly. *Peter*, *ki scho*, and *qui ca* (by the two last words meaning to express the names of his two benefactors, King George and Queen Caroline), were the plainest of the few articulate sounds he was ever known to produce. He seemed to have a taste for music, and would hum over with satisfaction tunes of all kinds which he often heard: and when an instrument was played, he would hop about with great delight until he was quite tired. No one, however, ever saw him laugh—that cheerful prerogative of mankind. In other respects he conducted himself as a good-natured, harmless, and obedient creature, so that he could be employed in all sorts of little domestic offices in the kitchen, or in the field. But they could not leave him alone to his own devices in these matters; for once when he was left alone by a cart of dung, which he had just been helping to load, he immediately on the same spot began diligently to unload it again.¹⁹

He probably lost himself several times in the neighborhood during the first ten years of his residence in England; but at all events one day, in 1746, he unwittingly strayed a long way, and at last got as far as Norfolk, where he was brought before a justice of the peace as the suspicious Unknown—this was at the time when there was a look-out for the supposed emissaries of the Pretender. As he did not speak, he was committed for the moment to the great prison-house in Norwich for safe custody. A great fire broke out there on that night, so that the prison was opened as soon as possible, and the detained were let out. When after the first fright the prisoners were counted up, the most important of them all was missing, the dumb Unknown. A warder rushed through the flames of the wide prison, and found Peter sitting quietly at the back in his corner; he was enjoying the illumination and the agreeable warmth, and it was not without difficulty that he could be dragged forth: and soon afterwards, from the advertisements for lost things he was recognized as the innocent Peter, and forwarded to his farmer again. Briefly, as an end to the tale, this pretended ideal of pure human nature, to which later sophists have elevated the wild Peter, was altogether nothing more than a dumb imbecile idiot.

¹⁸ It rather proves that Wild Peter was feral, since no feral man shows sexuality, see p. 239, fn. 14. Tafel: *op. cit.*, p. 85, also points out that this indicates that he was not a natural idiot "because it is proved by numerous examples that natural idiots are very sensuous." (Zingg)

¹⁹ See p. 162 fn. 26. (Zingg)

VI

Mistaken accounts by the biographers of Peter

Meanwhile the history of this idiot is always remarkable, as a striking example of the uncertainty of human testimony and historical credibility. For it is surprising how divergent and partly contradictory are even the first contemporary accounts of the circumstances of his appearance in Hameln. No two stories agree in the year, season, or place where and when he was found by the townsman of Hameln and brought into the city. The later printed stories are utterly wrong; how he was found by King George I, when hunting at Herrenhausen, or, according to others, on the Harz; how it was necessary to cut down the tree, on top of which he had taken refuge, in order to get at him; how his body was covered with hair, and that he ran upon all fours; how he jumped about trees like a squirrel; how he was very clever in getting the baits out of wolves' traps; how he was carried over to England in an iron cage; how he learnt to speak in nine months at the Queen's court; how he was baptized by Dr. Arbuthnot, and soon after died, etc.

VII

Genuine sources for Peter's history

I have critically examined everything that there is in print²⁰ about Wild Peter and collected besides other accounts of the history of his discovery. The chief of these is a particular manuscript account by Severin, the Burgomaster of Hameln already mentioned, which he dispatched in Feb. 1726 to the minister at Hanover, and for which I am indebted to the kindness of the most worthy master of the head school in Hameln, Avenarius.

²⁰ *Swift's Works*. Volume III, Pt. 1, p. 132, der grossen Londner Quartaussg. von 1755. (Of no value, merely a sarcastic squib.) (Zingg)

Ein Brief des Hamel'schen Burgomeisters Palm v. 1741, in *C. F. Foin's entlarvter Fabel vom Ausgange der Hamel'schen Kinder*. Hannov. 1749, 4 pag. 36.

Gentleman's Magazine, Volume xxi, 1751, page 522 and Volume lv, 1785, Pt. I, page 113 and Pt. II, page 851.

(Monboddo's) *antient Metaphysics* Volume III, London, 1784, 4 pag. 57 and 367.

Leipziger Zeitungen von gel. Sachen, 1725, Nr. 104 und 1726, Nr. 17. 61. 88.

Breslauer Sammlungen XXXIV Versuch, Dec. 1725 pag. 659 und XXXVI Versuch, Apr. 1726, pag. 506.

Zuverlässige Nachricht von dem bey Hameln im Felde gefundenen wilden Knaben.

Wobey dessen seltsame Figur in Kupfer gestochen (in Holzeschnitt) befindlich. 1726. 4. Spangenberg's: *Leben des Grafen Zinzendorf* II Band. pag. 380. (Blumenbach)

There are, besides, numerous national chronicles, and the unprinted collections of the chamberlain Redeker in the town-house of Hanover. With respect to his later mode of life in England, besides what I found out there myself, many of my friends there, such as the ambassadors of Hanover, Dr. Dornford and M. Craufurd, have communicated to me accurate accounts, which they themselves got together on Hertfordshire itself, and which I have made use of.

As to the likenesses of Peter which are in existence, I possess two masterly engravings which, I am assured, bear a close resemblance to him. The one is a great sheet, in a dark style, by Val. Green, from the picture by P. Falconet; it represents him as sitting, a full-length figure, in about his fiftieth year, and was painted at London in 1767, when he was presented to the king. The other is by Bartolozzi, after the three-quarter figure painted by J. Alefounder three years before Peter's death, quite a well-looking old man, whom any one who knew no better, might suppose to be more cunning than he looked.

VIII

Peter compared with other so-called wild children

It seems, perhaps, well worth the pains once for all to examine and settle critically the accounts of poor Peter, who has been considered of so much importance by so many of our greatest naturalists, sophists, etc.; principally, because this is the first story which can be set forth according to the real facts: for all the other instances of so-called wild children, almost without exception, are mixed up with so many beyond measure extraordinary and astonishing untruths or contradictions, that their credibility has become in consequence highly problematical altogether. . . .²¹

²¹ Tylor thus summarized Blumenbach's data:

Few stories of wild men have made so much noise in the world as that of "Peter the Wild Boy," who was found wandering about the country near Hameln, in Germany, in 1724, and was supposed to be a specimen of man in a state of nature. His case was written and talked about for years and writers on innate ideas, the origin of mankind, and similar subjects, reasoned upon it with more or less discretion. But when Blumenbach, the naturalist, came to examine the facts of the case, he proved to demonstration that Peter was nothing but a wretched mal-formed idiot boy, who could hardly have strayed from home many days before, for there was a fragment of shirt still hanging around his neck when he was taken. And just as Highlanders know a Cockney sportsman in a kilt by the first glance at his knees, so Peter's legs betrayed him. The color of the skin above and below the knee showed that he had been wearing breeches, but no stockings, till a short time before he was taken. Peter's parents were eventually found, and his whole story traced.

For thousands of years there have been stories going about the world of children being

Then Blumenbach continues with a chary review of the sources on which Linnaeus based his other cases of feral man. This material, for clarity, will be presented under the corresponding headings together with the other data on these cases. Then Blumenbach makes the following conclusions which again will be quoted *in extenso*:

IX

Neither Peter nor any other *Homo sapiens ferus* of Linnaeus can serve as a Specimen of the original Man of Nature

If we make a fair deduction from the really too tasteless fictions in those stories, and let the rest pass muster ever so indulgently, still it will be at once seen that these were altogether unnatural deformed creatures, and yet, what also goes very much to show how abnormal they were, no two of them were at all like each other, according to any critical comparison of the accounts we have of them. Taken altogether they were very unman-like, but each in his own way, according to the standard of his own individual wants, imperfections, and unnatural properties. Only in this were they like each other: that contrary to the instinct of nature, they lived alone, separated from the society of men, wandering about here and there; a condition, whose opposition to what is natural has been already compared by Voltaire to that of a lost solitary bee.²²

X

Above all no originally Wild Condition of Nature is to be attributed to Man, who is born a domestic animal

Man is a domestic animal. But in order that other animals might be made domestic about him, individuals of their species were first of all torn from their wild condition, and made to live under cover, and be-

carried off and brought up by wild beasts, and several new ones have come up in modern times. Blumenbach was not content with demolishing Peter the Wild Boy's claim to be a real wild man of the woods; he enumerated the other stories known to him of wild men, and children brought up by wild animals, and, after severe criticism, tossed them all contemptuously aside; and since his time the whole subject seems to have fallen into discredit. Looking at the evidence which Blumenbach had before him, we cannot wonder at his coming to this conclusion.

E. B. Tylor: "Wild Men and Beast-Children," (London) *Anthropological Review*, Volume I, 1863, Trübner and Company, 60 Paternoster, p. 23. (Zingg)

²² "If one meets with a wandering bee, ought one to conclude that the bee is in a state of pure nature, and that those who work in company in the hive have degenerated?" Comp. also Filangieri, *Scienza della legislazione*, T. I p. 64, second ed. (Blumenbach)

come tame; whereas he on the contrary was born and appointed by nature the most completely domesticated animal. Other domesticated animals were first brought to that state of perfection through him. He is the only one who brought himself to perfection.

But whilst so many other domestic animals, as cats, goats, etc., when they by accident return to the wilderness, very soon degenerate into the natural condition of the wild species; so on the other hand, as I have said, all those so-called wild children in their other behaviour, and nature, etc., strikingly differed one from another, for the very reason that they had no originally wild species to degenerate into, for such a race of mankind, which is the most perfect of all sorts of domestic animals that have been created, no where exists, nor is there any position, any mode of life, or even climate which would be suitable for it.

Thus we are given some valuable data about Wild Peter who had "wandered around astray, far from human society," despite Blumenbach's strictures against Linnaeus's *Homo Sapiens ferus* as well as against the philosophers interested in innate ideas and Rousseau's interest in feral as "natural" man.

Still in view of the later cases, "this supposed ideal of a pure child of nature to which the philosophers had raised Wild Peter is" still something "more than a poor dumb imbecile," even granting that he was that. Certain it is that when first found he did not like bread but would peel green sticks to chew the juice out of the bark, besides eating cabbage, grass, bean-plants, etc. And according to Blumenbach's critical data, Wild Peter supported himself for a year wild in the woods where he had been driven by his father, one Krüger, to whom he returned after a year, quite tattered, to be driven away again, with blows, like a strange dog, by his new step-mother.

One wonders if a complete idiot would have survived in the wilds a year at a time unseen by human beings until later by sailors passing down the river, just before he was captured. Nor do the pictures, which Blumenbach says he was assured in England presented a good likeness, show Wild Peter as a hopeless idiot, but rather "a right good-looking old man, whom you would consider quite bright, if we didn't know better."

Whatever Wild Peter's mentality was, imbecile and tongue-tied as he is represented to us, we cannot today think but that the tragic abuse that he received from an unnatural parent and from his stepmother must have been some factor in his retardation. This would probably have been admitted by Blumenbach, who did science a service in critically examining the new data he gathered and also in blasting the romanticism of "natural man." Still he may be criticized for unfair treatment of some of Linnaeus's

other cases, and for omitting the far more important cases which had attracted wide attention in the interval. Such a case was that of the Wild Boy of Aveyron of 1799, who had been observed pro and con by competent and even distinguished scientists in France.

Rauber's²³ conclusions on Wild Peter are similar to those given above, and against Blumenbach's.

²³ August Rauber: *Homo Sapiens Ferus*, p. 32 ff. discussion of Wild Peter.

Rauber's work not only quotes Blumenbach in detail, but also gives the following account from the primary sources, on which apparently Blumenbach based his account:

This story belongs to these cases which excel not only in the quantity of reliable information, but also have the advantage of showing an exemplary case. The quantity and accuracy of existing information, as desirable as this may be, under certain circumstances present a certain danger. One can easily distort the case so as to give it more importance than it deserves in comparison with a case which had less numerous observers and resulted in a shorter account. The very fulness of the data might induce one to regard a case as typical, when it lacks this quality entirely.

This is why Blumenbach chose just this case which we will describe here, from all the cases known to him. He gives a most detailed account and used this case as a starting point for judging all the others, which he treats very superficially, and classifies or evaluates according to the yard-stick of this one.

Such a performance as his contribution is a very good one, if we examine it carefully. For us the *Juvenis Hannoveranus* of Linnaeus is, first of all, nothing more than only one of these cases which is classified as a case of feral man, and we have to examine it with this in view.

A report from an unknown person, made partly from the records of the local court and partly from the observations of the persons charged with the care of the poor boy, gives a reliable account of this wild boy who was found in Hameln in 1724. This report is called: "Reliable and truthful report of the wild boy, found in the fields near Hameln, the circumstances relating to him, how he behaved after his capture, and the conjectures which resulted; and also other interesting events that happened, written by a reliable person from Hameln to a friend, and now brought to print because of its interest." Hameln March 18, 1726. There are a number of other sources, which we will mention later (see p. 183 fn. 1).

In this report we read among other things: "A burger, going through the fields on May 4, 1724, found a boy who, according to his appearance, was thought to be about thirteen years old. He was running through the fields completely naked, except that he had something hanging around his neck from which one could conclude that it had been a shirt. The burger at first became somewhat confused by the strange sight, but then seized him and asked him who he was and how he happened to be in such a strange condition?"

"When the boy heard him speak like this, he did not answer but fell on the ground, kissed him and made the strangest faces and contortions. The burger, who was an eye-witness of all this, believed that the boy was out of his mind, and brought him back to the city with him. Coming to the town, the rush of the mob at such a sight was considerable, so that the public authorities were called. In the meantime, a woman threw a shirt and a pair of old trousers to the boy. In this outfit he was brought to the poor-house.

"Here it was found that he had good hearing, but could not talk, and also that he acted more like a wild man than anything else, because he always wanted to run away and looked upon his change in life with aversion.

"Therefore he was brought to a room where the windows were well baired with spikes. But here he succeeded in bending the spikes very skillfully, and in opening the window through which he then escaped and ran away.

"When he thus regained his liberty, he behaved so crazily and ran in such a wild way that the boys in the street made sport of him, playing 'cat-catching' with him.

"When he was again brought to security and was locked up with greater care, next day it was discovered that he had torn his shirt and trousers to pieces, and had covered himself with his own filth, so that everyone was filled with great disgust at him. Thereafter a linen costume was made for him, and he was dressed in this.

"Because of his wild manners a man was ordered to stay with him in the poor-house, who could watch his actions and projects as well as check his wildness. This man told me that he showed great fear of flogging, and when he threatened him with the rod, the boy behaved much more moderately, so that within three days he was much easier to handle, and that it sufficed to merely show him the rod in order to make him obey. Nevertheless, no one can deny that a wild nature is so deeply rooted in him that he always tries to run away.

"Yet he always paid attention to his superiors and was always afraid of them, so much so that even when he was running away, he would halt when threatened.

"Besides one must not forget that he was a fast and swift runner; and it was probably because of this that it was said that this boy would climb trees like a cat or squirrel, and could jump from one tree to another, which was not true at all.

"In connection with the inability of this boy to talk, it seems that this is caused chiefly by the fact that his tongue does not have the usual form, but is very thick and is attached on both sides. Though a regimental surgeon has examined his tongue, and was at first willing to loosen it by making an incision, it was never done because this surgeon ordered the supervisors of the boy to strike him often under the tongue. This was done, but no improvement followed.

"Regarding the food of the boy, it is the most interesting because at first he would not eat bread, but preferred to stay his hunger with all kinds of garden products, which he ate with the greatest eagerness. He used to pass the beanstalks through his mouth and suck the sap, throwing away the rest. At first it was very difficult to teach him to eat ordinary food; but his supervisor taught him this in a few weeks.

"Thereupon he ate so much that he surpassed two persons. After this foster-father had this miserable human in his care for a quarter of a year, he did not want to keep him any longer. The Council was finally moved to lodge him with a burger in the hope that he could perhaps learn a trade. This hope was also in vain, because during this time, he was not able to learn a single word, except that often he cried the words: ala, ala, ala. It is to be noticed that, though he was unable to speak a single word, he had very sharp and good hearing. Thus it often seemed that he understood the words, spoken to him. He was finally taught to cover his nakedness with clothes, although in the beginning it was very difficult, because he preferred to tear them off and to go naked. He also disliked to wear shoes and it was only with great compunction that he suffered shoes to be put on his feet. Though the severe surveillance of his superiors kept him more or less away from his wild manners, it is not to be overlooked that often, underneath his fear, he showed a violent fury, and once even bit himself in the arm out of rage.

"Otherwise his character was more inclined to joy than to melancholy, because he was often cheerful and often sang without using words. In particular, when he heard music he became so happy that he began to dance and jump. In the beginning he sometimes kissed, now the walls, now the ground, and then his hands, just as he used to unbutton the clothes of anyone whom he met and kissed them on the chest. He could not stand women, but pushed them away from him with both hands and feet. If someone showed him fruit, particularly nuts, he would fall on the ground and kiss it as well as kiss his own hands and throw kisses to everybody. He did not care much about money, but always threw it away from him, though some say that he very skillfully hid money in his hair. This wild boy was taught with much patience and trouble to get over his more or less wild manner of eating,

Rauber concludes:

Herewith has been told what is known of the facts, suppositions, and possibilities regarding Wild Peter and his life. Very unfortunately it happened that only this case drew so much public attention. The case became famous not only through those people who wished to test him for the presence of innate ideas, but also the same zeal was shown by those who took hold of him thinking they could see in him the ideal of a pure "natural" man.

The reaction could not fail to come, partly as a consequence of the false suppositions, partly as a result of a more careful examination of the case itself. Because no one will deny that in this case a number of characteristics show that Peter was not only limited in his mental capacities, but even in this respect one is compelled to attribute to him some degree of idiocy. Yet the question must be raised if this state is altogether an inherited one or as one acquired through extraordinary neglect and solitude.

The fact that a state of extraordinary and early neglect was present is certain and we already know that this causes deep scars. What prevents us from supposing that the lasting result of this could be a limitation of the mind, or even complete idiocy, which is later impossible to correct?

The indications concerning Peter's thick and laterally adhering tongue are so vague that one cannot pay much attention to them. Anyway they did not completely keep him from speaking, as is proved by the efforts to teach him to speak. Perhaps it was less the condition of his tongue than the fact that until the age of adolescence, the boy was excluded from learning a language. One must take this into consideration in judging the meager results from the efforts to teach him to speak.

Whether the one or the other explanation be right, it is certain that this case does not represent the typical picture of an isolated being. For us, the case remains doubtful, and we would be more inclined to judge this case in the light of other cases of pure isolation, rather than try and judge all other cases according to this one.

Blumenbach's attack in 1811 did not succeed in banishing feral man to the limbo of mythology. In 1830, Rudolphi, one of Blumenbach's first students of Anthropology as it was then understood to include physiology,

as well as to keep clothes on his body. Thus, when he had become much easier to handle, he was sent to the Orphanage in Zelle."

Tafel tells us that this has been printed in its entirety, and therefore probably the source for Rauber was the *Breslauer Sammlung* . . . "Supplementum IV. curieuser und nutzbarer Anmerkungen von Natur und Kunst und Literatur Geschichten . . . von Joh. Kanold," Breslau 1729, pp. 69-78; also in excerpts by Dr. Rotermund, Dompastor in Bremen, in the *Neue vaterländische Archiv* . . . founded by G. H. G. Spiel, continued by E. Spangenberg, I, Lüneburg, 1825, p. 285 ff. (Tafel: *Fundamentalphilosophie*, p. 75.) (Zingg)

was impelled to discuss the problem. In his cautious treatment he considers all of the then known cases to be idiots, except the *Puella campanica* (see p. 257, at fn. 7) a conclusion agreed with here except that Rudolphi does not distinguish between native and induced idiocy. Of the crucial *Puella campanica*, he rightly observes that the sources are inadequate. In this collection of materials he may be quoted *in extenso*, not only for the new cases that he rather uncritically refers to, but also for his evaluation of the materials with reference to their significance in a general science of man. In his *Grundriss der Physiologie* he says:²⁴

If one wishes to compare mankind with the animals, one must take man in his full development rather than individuals who are physically or mentally defective, to which class belong most of the cases of feral children (*verwildert gefundenen Kinder*).

Note: Wild Peter of Hameln was apparently an idiot as Blumenbach has proved. . . . The boy E. M. Itard took such a fatherly interest in, was and remained feeble-minded. . . . According to Larrey . . . (see p. 246, fn. 19 ff.) his skull was very deformed so that it was compared to that of . . . an Orang Utan.

. . . The sources are incomplete but Mlle. le Blanc (*Puella campanica*) as she was afterwards called and who became a nun later, seemed to have had some intelligence.

The Negro boy who was cast on the Island of Barra from a ship-wreck was deformed, but was without remembrance of his former condition. See "Leben und besondere Schicksale eines wilden Knaben von zwölf Jahren der zu Barra von zwei berühmten Aertzen gefangen und aufgezogen worden." Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1759, 8°. (An improbable case, data given in Tafel, *Fundamentalphilosophie*. Zingg)

The boys, who were found among bears in Lithuania, did not develop in human society . . . Larrey saw the skull of one of them in Wilma,²⁵ and found it like that of an idiot.

Gall also reports a pair of such feeble wild beings. (see p. 180, at fn. 8)

Regarding the other cases of this kind, there is almost nothing to be said with certainty. Some of them seem to be invented. (Compare Schreber: *Die Säugethiere*, p. 31, and Blumenbach.)

In any case it would be stupid to wish to see in these children the original condition of man.

In 1848 the most substantial contribution to the problem of feral man

²⁴ Dr. Karl Asmund Rudolphi, Professor der Medicin und Mitglied der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin: *Grundriss der Physiologie*, 2 Volumes, Volume II in 2 parts. Druck und Verlag der J. J. Mackenschen Buchhandlung, 1830. (Zingg)

²⁵ This is an error. See p. 246, at fn. 19. (Zingg)

was made by Tafel in the collection of all the data, even now still known, on most of the European cases of feral man. These materials were gathered together in his *Fundamentalphilosophie*.²⁶ The work itself is a significant philosophic treatment of pre-Darwinian evolutionary thought; and though I have never seen it cited in English histories of science, it well might be.

Tafel in his book, after preliminary sections devoted to definitions of problems and method comes in section 5 to a conception of a "genetic interpretation of Philosophy," which he derives from Plato. This leads him in section 6 to "The natural condition of man—feral man." Here he first sketches the evolutionary conceptions of the Greek philosophers; and he then reviews contemporary German contributors to this approach.

Tafel tells us,²⁷ "the foundation of freedom and reason, whenever it shall have been developed, is bound in certain agreement to Evolution" (*Entwicklung*) "and we cannot come out of the circle and cannot awaken to self-consciousness when we are not faced with an already developed rational creature, one freed from the lower natural instincts, to teach us in any speech and to command us to take the direction of the unselfish way. Man is human, only under other men, and without this education, man remains an animal. This is shown by the numerous examples of feral children which have been saved by animals and remained with them until they have come under human influence again to be educated." The opinion that all these cases were not of congenital idiocy causes Tafel to attack Blumenbach's dictum to this effect. Instead of dismissing and slurring the data other than for Wild Peter, as Blumenbach had done with the other cases, Tafel gives us all the data, still known, on Linnaeus's cases and adds several others.

After presenting the data in a manner followed closely by all other writers on feral man who have presented it, Tafel then argues in direct opposition to Blumenbach that none of these cases involves congenital idiocy, citing writers on idiocy current in his day. He argues that their condition is the result of their having been isolated from human society. In conclusion of this long section Tafel quotes a slightly earlier scientific source, Pierer's: *Medizinisches Realwörterbuch* (I. Volume 8, 1829, p. 557):

It is man's destiny to live in society, and under human instruction in his

²⁶ Dr. Johann Friedrich Immanuel Tafel (Universitäts-Bibliothekar zu Tübingen): *Die Fundamentalphilosophie, in genetischer Entwicklung mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Geschichte jedes einzelnen Problems*. Erster Theil, Tübingen, Verlags-Expedition, 1848.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

childhood, and even more by association with his fellow men, to form the foundation of his nature in their character, which, thereby as it raised mankind over the animals, came to characterize all humanity. And even the most primitive nations do not completely lack this character, though they remain pressed back in a low stage.

When however, from earliest childhood or at least when from the period of life from which impressions remain in the memory, man is withdrawn from human society, he remains in the bonds of the animal world. Such persons are developed bodily stronger than the pressing needs of their self-preservation direct. Especially is this shown by the histories of the few unlucky beings who in childhood are abandoned from human contact in the wilderness, a few of whom have to thank their good fortune for their survival when as though by a miracle they are rescued from the dangers that threaten their miserable existence at every step.

Until recently, the problem of feral man has attracted little interest among writers in English, except for the equivocal contribution of the great English cultural anthropologist, E. B. Tylor,²⁸ who is rightly called

²⁸ Edward Burnet Tylor was born in London in 1832. He went to a private school run by the Society of Friends. He was apprenticed to a branch of engineering; but, his health failing, he took to travel. In 1855-6, he traveled in the United States and then to Cuba. Here he met Mr. Henry Christie, who was something of an ethnologist and whose collections later made up the Christie Museum. Together the two men visited Mexico; and here, Tylor must first have become interested in primitive culture. But on his return, he published merely a popular travel volume, *Anahuac: or Mexico and the Mexicans, Ancient and Modern*.

Tylor must have read and thought assiduously in the next few years, for in 1865 he published his *Researches into the Early History of Mankind*. This was apparently well received and he was made a fellow of the Ethnological Society. Five years later he was a charter fellow of the Anthropological Institute. He delivered several papers during these years on material which he later included in his masterwork, *Primitive Culture* (1871). He was not yet forty, but this work apparently made him pre-eminent in British Anthropology. It was translated into several languages, and went into several editions, becoming a standard authority.

Tylor continued to write on various problems of culture, and was honored as President of the Anthropological Institute for two years in 1879, and for another two years later. He came to be considered, with good reason, by his pupils and colleagues as the father of Cultural Anthropology in England, and even in the United States. He became connected with Oxford University in 1883 as keeper of the Museum, and reader in Anthropology (1884), and in 1896 he became the first Professor of Anthropology in Oxford. This was a great personal honor, because it was Tylor's own personality and great scholarship that caused conservative Oxford to make a place for the new science of Cultural Anthropology.

On his seventy-fifth birthday, Tylor was tendered an anniversary volume, and, as a unique event, the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* was dedicated to him. He was knighted in 1912, an honor comparable to the recognition given Linnaeus. Tylor died during the War in 1917 at the age of eighty-five. He was a venerable and highly respected old gentleman, a better writer than speaker, and comparable to Darwin in his mildness and avoidance of controversies. He seems to have been beloved by all his fellow workers, especially in England, and has now come to be considered the father of Cultural Anthro-

the father of that subject in England. The publication of General Sleeman's account of wolf-children in India together with the reports published on Kaspar Hauser, he says, "makes it necessary to re-argue the question whether children have even been carried away and brought up by wild animals."²⁹ In his paper Tylor, lacking authentic witnesses of the actual association of animals and children, investigates mythical accounts from Romulus and Remus to isolated native beliefs everywhere in the world. He indicts all Asiatic testimony because of the primitive belief in werewolves, weretigers, and something like werecrocodiles. This objection shows scientific caution but it indicts an entire nation (India) where only the hill tribes believe in were-animals. Even this objection of Tylor is met by the case of the wolf-children of Midnapore due to the numerous observers on record. In the fact that several competent observers saw the children of Midnapore with wolves this case is unique.

Tylor's interest in feral man was the contrary of that of Blumenbach. With the sweep of evolutionary thought after Darwin in the interval between the two writers, Tylor's interest in feral man was in the effort to throw light on the original nature of earliest man as he emerged from the ape. With a "historical" rather than a strictly scientific interest like Blumenbach's in the taxonomy of race classification, Tylor's interest was nearer that of Rousseau's philosophic interest in "natural" man. But Tylor was so thorough a scholar that he leaned over backwards about drawing any conclusions on his data, which is unusual for Tylor and gives curiously equivocal results, as may be noted below. Either from this conservatism or the unavailability of the primary data, there is also evidenced in Tylor's paper a curious failure for so competent a scholar in not having examined more of the primary sources. Had he done so, he probably would not have followed Blumenbach so slavishly in dismissing so summarily some of the sources like Tulp. (See p. 210, fn. 18.)

Tylor's contribution³⁰ with the picturesque title, "Wild Men and Beast-Children," in itself is a primary source on the Overdyke cases which oc-

polology in England if not in America where his influence was very great and is still important. (Zingg)

²⁹ Tylor's study on feral man does not seem to have even reopened the question with English anthropologists, among whom he was the acknowledged leader. As late as 1908 in a Presidential address Dr. J. D. Cunningham ("Anthropology in the Eighteenth Century" *Journal Royal Anthropological Institute*, Volume XXXVII, pp. 10-35) calls Wild Peter and all other cases of feral man, "microcephales"—an extraordinary deliverance *ex cathedra*, since whatever Wild Peter was his picture (see p. 183) shows clearly he was hardly a microcephalic idiot. (Zingg)

³⁰ Edward Burnet Tylor: "Wild Men and Beast-Children," *Anthropological Review* (London), Volume I, 1863. Trübner and Company, 60 Paternoster.

curred in Germany during the confusion of the Napoleonic Wars. Cases of feral man are most frequent during and after terrible wars; and one wonders if, save for the possible rigors of the climate, such cases may not have occurred in Russia, where there were so many abandoned children, or elsewhere in Europe after the first World War.³¹

The chief contribution of Tylor's paper to the problem of feral man is the presentation of a summary of Sleeman's material, elsewhere here given in full, together with the new material on Clemens and another boy from Overdyke. Tylor continues his paper with a brief summary of the meager data of Blumenbach on Linnaeus's other cases, without much reference to the primary sources. This material will be presented under the corresponding headings, later. The rather equivocal conclusions of Tylor's paper are as follows:³²

The whole evidence comes to this. First, that in different parts of the world, children have been found in a state of brutalization, due to want of education or to congenital idiocy, or to both; and secondly, that people often believe that these children have been caught living among wild beasts, a supposition which accounts for their beast-like nature.

Unable to make up his mind whether it is heredity or environment or both which are involved here, Tylor does point out in addition the significant fact that in none of these cases do we have any evidence of persons who saw the wild children with animals.

These conclusions do not advance the problem of feral man a great deal, even though Tylor does put himself on record as recognizing Clemens of Overdyke and the case from ancient Rome as true instances of feral man. Other than this he does not draw the line sharply between fact and fable in this field, beyond saying:³³

Even the well-authenticated cases of human beings living in a state below that of the lowest savage tribes are of little value to the Anthropologist. It is hard to say in the case of any one of them how far their miserable condition was the result of want of civilization and how far of idiocy. Caspar Hauser's case is of more value than all of them put together, as he, if published accounts may be believed, seems at least to have been naturally of full powers of mind.

³¹ One hope in publishing this account, and that of the wolf-children of Midnapore is that new cases may possibly be reported from the second World War, or the war raging in China, as this is written. Each publication on feral man has brought out new cases, rare as they are.

³² E. B. Tylor: *op. cit.*, p. 29.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

The original man, roaming, as the poet describes them, "a dumb and miserable herd" about the woods, do not exist on the earth. The inquirer who seeks to find out the beginnings of man's civilization must deduce general principles by reasoning backwards from the civilized European to the savage, and then descend to still lower possible levels of human existence, with such assistance as he can gain from the study of the undeveloped human mind in children, and in the blind, and deaf, and dumb, who have been prevented by physical defects from receiving much of the knowledge which is current among their fellows, and who are therefore often obliged to form their opinions from the direct evidence of their senses, without sharing in the treasury of knowledge which has been accumulating for so many ages, and comes almost unconsciously to ordinary children.

The data in Tylor's essay will be quoted *in extenso*:

Wild Men and Beast-Children

The native Australian and the Andaman Islander may be taken as fairly representing the lowest stage of human society of which we have any certain knowledge. To a civilized European, such a life as that of these tribes seems, at first sight, but little removed from that of the lower animals; but a closer examination shows that, though their civilization is indeed very low in degree, it is the same in kind as that of the more advanced races.

These savages have articulate languages; they know the use of fire; they have tools, though but simple and clumsy ones. There is no authentic account of any people having been discovered who do not possess language, tools, and fire.

But though at least this amount of civilization is always present among men living in communities, there are lower conditions under which it is possible for men to live. It is an object of some importance to anthropologists, to know where the lowest limit of human existence lies; but unfortunately, this limit is difficult, if not impossible to find. Stories both old and new have been told of man living as a beast among beasts, or in a state of degradation not far removed from this; but they are few in number, and most of them are worth little or nothing as proof of actual fact, though they are of great interest to the student of mythology. I have arranged and sifted, to the best of my ability, the stories of this kind which I have met with, beginning with some which are certainly true, and ending with those which are certainly fabulous. Somewhere in the debatable land between the two, the line which separates fact from fable must lie.

Case XIV. Clemens of Overdyke

After Napoleon's German wars, the countries ravaged by his armies fell into a state of misery and demoralization which we, whose lives have been spent in peace and prosperity, can hardly form an idea of. During this period, children without parents or friends, and left utterly destitute and uncared for, were quite common in Germany. Several such children were taken to Count von der Recke's asylum at Overdyke; among whom were two especially, whose cases are noteworthy, as showing in what a state of degradation human beings might be found living in civilized Europe, not a half century ago.

One day a boy was sent to the asylum ragged and bleeding. He could not tell his name, so, as it was St. Clemens Day, they named him Clemens. When they asked him where he had come from, he said, "from the other side of the water"; but his answers to other questions were mostly unintelligible. When his mind had been somewhat developed, he told what little he knew of his story. He had been set to keep swine, and shut up with them at night. The peasant, his master, gave him scarcely enough food to sustain life, and he used to suck the milch sow and eat herbage with the pigs. When he first came to Overdyke they had to keep him out of the salad beds, as though he had been a pig himself; for he would go on all fours in the garden, and seize and eat the vegetables with his projecting teeth. He never lost his affection for pigs; and they were so tame with him that they would let him ride about on their backs. His pleasantest recollections and his favorite stories were about his life with them in his childhood.

This boy was not actually an idiot, as his history shows; but he was probably of imperfect powers of mind from his birth. He is described as having a very narrow head and low forehead. His eyes were heavy, and he could not be made to run quickly or walk in an orderly way, though he was not deformed. He was always inclined to laugh, was of a joyous disposition, insinuating, and sensible to kindness. But on the other hand, he was subject to uncontrollable fits of passion; and once, on being reproved for using frightful curses (a habit which he had learned in former times), he tried to murder his benefactor with a wood-cutter's axe he had in his hand, and laughed heartily as he was being taken away to be put in confinement.³⁴

³⁴ Dusselthal Abbey. London: Nisbet, 1837, gives some account of this case and the following from Overdyke. Details not mentioned there are from a MS. account sent to me by Count v. d. Recke. (Tylor)

Case XV. Swine-girl of Salzburg

Another case of a pig-child is reported in the sources known to the present author. For sake of keeping the materials together it will be here interposed in this summary of Tylor's contribution.

Feuerbach in his account of Kaspar Hauser (see pp. 307, 308) summarizes all that is recorded on her:

. . . occurrences similar to those which Hauser has related, are by no means unheard of. Dr. Horn in his *Travels through Germany* . . . (reviewed in the *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeiger*, July, 1831, p. 1097) tells that he saw in the infirmary at Salzburg, but a few years ago, a girl of twenty-two years of age, and by no means ugly, who had been brought up in a hog-sty among the hogs, and who had sat there for many years with her legs crossed. One of her legs was quite crooked, she grunted like a hog and her gestures were brutishly unseemly in a human dress.³⁵

The original account by Wilhelm Horn, Doctor der Philosophie, Medicin, und Chirurgie, *Reise durch Deutschland, Ungarn, Holland, Italien, Frankreich, Grossbritannien und Irland* . . . Verlag von Enslin, 1831, Vol. I, p. 138, gives no further details.

We may therefore return to the consideration of Tylor's account of:

Case XVI. Second Case from Overdyke³⁶

Another boy, who was taken into the same asylum, had learned to live almost wild in the forest, only approaching villages for the purpose of stealing food. He climbed trees with wonderful ability to get eggs and birds, which he devoured raw, a habit of which he was never cured. This boy's knowledge of birds and their habits was extraordinary; and the published account of him says that he had given "to every bird a distinctive and often very appropriate name of his own, which they appeared to recognize as he whistled after them." This means, I suppose, that he named each bird by imitating its cry.³⁷

³⁵ Feuerbach also mentions a wild girl of Brazil seen in Europe in his day. See present work, p. 300, fn. 12. (Zingg)

³⁶ Some account of these cases is given in the following from Overdyke. Details not mentioned there are from a MS. account sent to me by Count v. d. Recke. (Tylor)

³⁷ It is possibly significant that wild children who have wandered off or have been abandoned, survive by the primitive and elementary "invention" of a means of livelihood, like eating birds' eggs, etc. on which they appear to specialize. Compare with the wild-girl of Songi, who specialized in catching fish and frogs. See p. 254, fn. 3. (Zingg)

Case XVII. Case from Ancient Rome

The picture of Germany after the French invasion forms an apt parallel to the picture of Italy during the invasion of the Goths, in which the historian Procopius tells, as a startling instance of the horrors of the war, a story which belongs to the category before us, and is very likely true as a matter of fact. An infant, left by its mother, was found by a she-goat which suckled and took care of it. When the survivors came back to their deserted homes they found the child living with its adopted mother, and called it Aegisthus. Procopius says that he was there and saw the child himself.³⁸

A Report from Missionaries from Polynesia³⁹

Within a few years there were wild men in the mountains of Tahiti, fugitives who had escaped from the general slaughter to which every man, woman, and child of a conquered tribe was doomed in Tahitian warfare. The missionaries saw two of these men who had been caught and brought down from the mountains at different times. One was quite naked, did not reply or seem to understand when spoken to, and showed horror at the sight of men. He refused food and water which were offered to him, and escaped the second night after his capture. The other was of unsociable and wild aspect, but quiet. He seemed to take little interest in anything, and his general behaviour was that of a harmless lunatic.

This is not a truly feral case of one of complete isolation from all human contact in youth or infancy. Still this, like other such cases, has something to offer to the study of feral man. Another such case is that of Ishi,⁴⁰ found in California as the last survivor of a native Indian tribe, who lived for some years in the university. Professor N. C. Nelson has written me of some scientific verification of newspaper accounts of surviving remnants in the Mexican deserts of the Apache bands of Geronimo.⁴¹

Tylor's not unfavorable treatment of the data of feral man probably influenced the great English physical anthropologist, Francis Galton, to accept the data in 1865.⁴² Much later the almost equally distinguished English cultural anthropologist, Sir James Frazer, not only accepted the Sleeman and other cases of wolf-children of India, but cited a new source for a bear-boy from India (see p. 220 ff.).

³⁸ *De Bello Gothico*, Lib. II, cap. XVII. (Tylor)

³⁹ Ellis: *Polynesian Researches*, Vol. II, p. 504, etc. (Tylor)

⁴⁰ Pope, "The Medical History of Ishi," University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, 13 (no. 5): 175-213, 1920.

⁴¹ Ingstad, Helge, *Apache Indianere* (The Apache Indians), subtitle: Hunt After the Lost Tribe. Oslo, Norway, 323 pages.

⁴² Galton, Francis: "The Domestication of Animals," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, N. S. Volume 3 (1865), p. 136.

CHAPTER III

The Data on the other Classic Cases of Feral Man, which showed no substantial recovery from early isolation

THE classic cases of feral man are those cited by Linnaeus, or added to his list by early contributors to this problem. The records on the majority of these cases show no substantial recovery of human mentality and personality after their re-entry into human society. The primary data are scattered and rare, often in ancient manuscripts or early books. The inadequacy of Tylor's discussion and collection of materials in 1863 forces us to turn again, as is so often the case, to the German writers for complete and thorough collections of scattered and inaccessible data. Such is the case with the sources of Linnaeus's cases of feral man, as well as the later instances. These sources have been carefully collected by Tafel in 1848 and Rauber in 1885. The later work of Rauber will here be quoted *in extenso* because of his greater grasp of the psychological implications of the materials.

According to Rauber,¹ Linnaeus's Hessian wolf-boy, *Juvenis lupinis Hessianus*, is in reality:

Cases XVIII and XIX. The Two Hessian Wolf-boys

The Hessian Chronicle of Wilhelm Dilich ² (otherwise Scheffer) geographer and historian of the Landgraf Moritz of Hesse, but after March 27, 1625 (he died in Dresden 1655) the engineer, architect, and geographer of the Prince Elector of Saxony, out of all the years between 1338 and 1347 calls special attention only to the one year of 1341 in which the

¹ August Rauber (Professor in Dorpat): *Homo Sapiens Ferus oder Die Zustände der Verwilderten und ihre Bedeutung für Wissenschaft, Politik und Schule* (Biologische Untersuchung) Zweite Auflage 1888. Leipzig, Julius Brehme (Denicke's Verlag), pp. 15-18, gives this discussion of the Hessian wolf-boy.

² *Hessische Chronik*, originally written by Wilhelm Dilich but now newly proofed and corrected. Cassel, 1608, pt. II, p. 187. (Rauber)

Landgraf Henry is mentioned. Of this one year he reports nothing else than the very simple and short story of a wild child as follows:

"In the year 1341 a wild child of about seven, or as others write, about twelve years of age, was found among wolves, captured by hunters and brought to the Landgraf. It ran sometimes on all fours and was able to jump extraordinarily. When they tried to tame it in the castle, it would dash away from people and hide itself under benches, and after a short time it died because it could not stand human food."

This suprising though short information does not even mention if the wild boy in question was able to speak; but he probably passes over this point out of the reason that the lack of language was considered as something very natural, while the existence of it would have been remarked as something very surprising. There is to add to this report, another description of an unknown monk, about two wild boys, one of which was captured in Hesse, the other in Wetterau (both in 1344). The report is made in Latin³ which is translated as follows:

"The boy found in Hesse, as the future proved and as he himself said, was captured at the age of three years by wolves, and was taken care of by them in a wonderful way. The wolves offered him the better part of their plunder for food, made him a hole in winter and covered it with leaves to protect the boy from the bitter cold. They urged him to go on all fours, until by exercising he had acquired their speed and was able to make the biggest jumps. After his discovery he was set upright and urged to go about in a human fashion by putting splints on his legs to stiffen them.⁴ The boy often said that he would have preferred association with the wolves rather than with humans. People brought him to the court of the Prince of Hesse because of the extraordinary rarity and curiosity of such a creature.

"The other case happened in Wetterau, near by the farm Echtzel, where a boy was captured who had lived for twelve years among wolves. This happened in a dense wood which the people used to call the Hart. He was captured by nobles who used to resort there for hunting. The boy lived until about eighty years of age. His capture occurred in 1344, when it was wintry and snowy." (Rauber's second edition misprints this date as 1744—Zingg.)

The Chronicle of Dilich mentions the first case in 1341, while the un-

³ In Pistorii, *Scriptores rerum a Germanis gestarum. Additiones ad Lambertum Schafnaburgensem, appositae ab Erphesfordensi Monacho anonymo*. Frf. 1619 fol. p. 264 or *Editio tertia*, Ratisbonae 1726 Pt. I, p. 439. (Rauber)

An earlier form of this work is cited by Tafel *Illustrium veterum scriptorum, qui rerum a Germanis per multas aetates gestarum Historias vel Annales posteris tradiderunt Tomas unus*. Ex. Bibliotheca Joh. Pistorii, Francof 1583, fo. I., p. 264. Cited in Tafel: *Fundamental-philosophie* p. 47. (Zingg)

⁴ See footnote p. 66, fn. 1.

known monk mentions these other two cases as of 1344 (one from Hesse and one from Wetterau). Since both these chronicles mention only one case from Hesse, it is hardly to be taken for granted that there were two cases in the region between 1341 and 1344. It appears therefore that the wolf-boy referred to by Dilich is the same one mentioned by the unknown monk. The boy mentioned by Dilich appears to have died early, and would therefore hardly have been able to tell the stories, as the boy is reported by the monk to have told about his wonderful adventures among the wolves. But the boy found in Wetterau might later have told his recollections, since he lived for so long.

If it is at all credible that a boy could have been cared for and treated considerably by the wolves who captured and carried him away, is difficult to answer ⁵ with certainty. But of sucking wolves, as of examples of numerous other animals, we know that they have taken cubs of quite different animals, and nursed them like their own. Many of the other circumstances of the story appear as fables, and do not deserve any credence. It is suspicious that the unknown monk has taken this opportunity to complain about human hard-heartedness, which he would soften by citing this example from wolves.

Possibly the wolves themselves are an assistance to the unending rumors, and their exaggeration, as is common of all unusual things. In this case the whole happening may refer to a wild and unruly child who was discovered by hunters in the woods and brought to the count. In the same woods, wolves may not have been completely lacking.

As here we see wolves as protectors of human children, so later we shall see bears in the same role.

J. J. Rousseau was not adverse to believing the whole case, as it corresponded to his whole system. He reviews it in his, *Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes*, 1754 . . . (See p. 178).

D. Schreber (*Die Säugethiere*, 1826, Vol. I, p. 32) on the contrary treats the whole case as an obvious fairy-tale.

To us this seems to be going too far, and to be too much like throwing the baby out with the bath. There is a middle course, which allows the kernel of the matter to stand, while it allows the accompanying decorations to be left alone or to be thrust aside.⁶

⁵ Rauber's doubts at this point would likely be set at rest by the evidence of the wolf-children of Midnapore. (Zingg)

⁶ Other mentions of this case are as follows:

Blumenbach: "Regarding *Homo sapiens ferus*" p. 35 summarizes the data on the Hessian wolf-boy: "More certain" (than the Irish sheep-boy see p. 209) "but still suspicious is the report about the eight-year-old *juvenis lupinus Hessensis* of 1344 (not 1544 as Linnaeus and all his followers say), who praised the good reception which he had found among the wolves after they had kidnapped him five years before. They were said to have

The facts on another of Linnaeus's cases, is thus translated from Rauber,⁷ but this case is not counted as a probable one.

The Bamberger boy
Juvenis bovinus Bambergensis (Linn.)

Writing of *Juvenis bovinus Bambergensis*, Camerarius⁸ presents no real case of feral man (*Wildheit*), but only says that this Bamberger boy, whom he often used to see at the Court of the Prince of Bamberg at the end of the sixteenth century, had grown up, according to his own report, among the cattle of the neighboring mountains. Hence came his amazing nimbleness and dexterity in jumping and running, especially on all fours. By biting he used to fight the biggest dogs on all fours in such a way that they had to flee, with him chasing them imitating their method of running. By and by among human beings, he took over orderly behaviour and, after awhile even married.

About this same case Schreber⁹ writes, "One does not find that wildness was attributed to him, despite his growing up among cattle because there were few if any wild cattle in the region of Bamberg. Consequently, from no point of view does it belong here."

To these remarks Tafel notices:¹⁰ "What are called cattle (*pecora*) are not necessarily cow-cattle, since according to Linnaeus the following belong to the *pecora*: *camelus*, *cervus*, *capra*, *ovis*, *bos*, and even cow-cattle could have strayed to the mountains (*montana loco*) and have gone wild."

Can it be at all important what Linnaeus in his *Systema naturae* classi-

made him a nest of leaves, laid themselves around him to keep him warm, brought him a part of their food, etc." Blumenbach cites the same sources as Rauber.

Tylor: "Wild Men and Beast-Children" p. 27 compares this case of a European wolf-child to Sleeman's wolf-children of India, saying: "If we examine the best of the earlier stories of beast children, we shall find them very much like the modern stories of Oude. The wild child, of which we read in Wilhelm Dilich's Hessian Chronicle, as having been caught by hunters among wolves in 1341, is described as running sometimes on all fours, and jumping an extraordinary distance. They could not tame it, and it avoided men, and would run and hide itself under benches. It could not bear the food given it, and soon died. A late version of the story is given by an anonymous monk, with some additional embellishments, as that the boy related that the beasts made a nest of leaves for him to lie in, and so forth; but there is nothing of this in the original."

Maurice H. Small: "Psychical Relations of Society and Solitude," *Pedagogical Seminary* VII, No. 2 (1900) 32-36. "The Hessian Boy was discovered by hunters in 1341, running on all fours with wolves; was captured and turned over to the landgrave. Was always restless, could not adapt himself to civilized life and died untamed. The case is recorded in the Hessian Chronicles by Wilhelm Dilich. . . ." (Zingg)

⁷ Rauber: *Homo Sapiens Ferus*, pp. 18-19.

⁸ Camerarius: *Horae subcivicae*, 1602 I p. 343.

⁹ Schreber, *Die Säugethiere*, I p. 33, fn. g.

¹⁰ Tafel: *Fundamentalphilosophie*, Vol. I, p. 49. Tafel puts this remark in a footnote. What he says in his text is that this case does not count as one of feral man, since even Camerarius does not call it one. (Zingg)

fies under *Pecora*? The question is what did Camerarius mean in his narration in using the word *pecora*? In common use of language one understands all kinds of cattle to be meant by *pecora*,¹¹ distinguishing the specific kinds by the use of other adjectives.¹²

We will continue with the translation of Rauber's material¹³ on two other of Linnaeus's cases:

Case XX. The Lütticher Hans (Jean of Liège)

Johannes Leodicensis Boerhavii

Jean disappeared in the woods at the age of five years and lived there for sixteen years, eating green-stuff, roots and wild fruits. When he was returned to human society he would often long to return to the woods, which was quite natural. His sense of smell was extraordinarily sharp, and even at a distance he could recognize his female guard by her odor. By and by he lost this sharpness of smell as he became accustomed to our common food.

Blumenbach¹⁴ said of him that according to Digby's description "a peasant boy who out of fear of soldiers who plundered his village, lost himself in the woods of Ardennes. He was said to have lived there for some years eating roots, wild-pears, and acorns."

Virey reports¹⁵ the following about him in more details: "Boerhave has the custom of citing in his medical lectures, the history of a youth who had been allowed to go wild in the woods at the age of five years, becoming a savage for sixteen years. He lived on wild herbs, fruits, and roots of

¹¹ Rauber doesn't get much beyond the other commentators on this story in continuing the quibble about the meaning of *pecora*. Whether it was with tame or wild cows or other cattle that he lived makes little difference, since the abysmal difference is between the animals and man. Of more importance seems his ability to run and jump on all fours. This case is at best doubtful. (Zingg)

¹² All the other authorities mention this case with doubt: Blumenbach: "Regarding *Homo sapiens ferus* . . ." pp. 34-35, says: "Regarding Linnaeus *Juvenis bovinus Bambergensis* we have no other authority, in my knowledge, than that the honest *Ph. Camerarius* (*Oper. horae. subsisvae*. Cent. I. p. 343 of the edition 1602.) said that the wild boy of Bamberg, who later married, told him that he had grown up in the neighboring mountains among cattle."

E. B. Tylor: "Wild Men and Beast-Children," p. 29, merely says, "and the wild boy of Bamberg, who lowed like an ox, may be dismissed without further remark." (Zingg)

¹³ A. Rauber: *Homo Sapiens Ferus* . . . pp. 19-21.

¹⁴ Blumenbach: "Regarding *Homo sapiens ferus*." p. 39. "*Johannes Leodicensis* was described by the gullible Digby (in his "Two Treatises in the one of which, the Nature of Bodies, in the other, the Nature of Man's Soule, is looked into." Paris 1844. fol. p. 247.)."

¹⁵ Virey in the *Nouveau dictionnaire d'hist. naturelle* New edition, Vol. 15, Paris 1817, p. 264. (This passage is given in Tafel's: *Fundamentalphilosophie*, p. 50. Tafel says that this case, though not at all incredible, does not reveal any especial conclusions. Zingg)

the woods which he knew very well how to discover by their odor, by which he could distinguish their qualities with astonishing discrimination. After he was returned to human society he used to long to return to the woods and fields. He was called Jean of Liège. Far away he could distinguish by smell from all other women, the woman who guarded him, as a dog distinguishes his master in the midst of numerous other men. He lost his sharpness of smell by and by after he became accustomed to the foods which we ordinarily use.¹⁶

Case XXI. The Irish Youth (*Juvenis ovinus Hibernus*)

Here we have the most important case of which the literature has brought before us. This case is described by the excellent doctor of medicine Dr. Nikolaus Tulp, Burgermeister and Curator of the Gymnasium of Amsterdam from his own observations. Strangely enough Blumenbach, in his review of these cases, mentions the Irish boy only incidentally, while the other cases, which for some reason or other allow objections, are treated exactly in order to make them doubtful, suspicious, and worthless.¹⁷ One comes unwillingly to the conclusion that Blumenbach passes over this case because, in reality, he could not make reasonable objections to it. That after reading Tulp's account he should briefly call him, "an idiotic, dumb, and misformed creature" is too strange to need a reply. Later on we shall

¹⁶ Tylor: "Wild Men and Beast-Children," p. 28, apparently gives a confused reference to this case as well as another for which I have no other data. He says, "There are two more stories cited by Koenig" (*Schediasma de hominum inter ferus educatorum statu naturali solitario*, Hannover, 1730) "of a wolf-child (?) caught in the forest of Ardennes, and of a wild man, caught in the forest of Compiègne." This book while listed in the Surgeon General's library was not available. (Zingg)

¹⁷ Blumenbach: "Regarding *Homo sapiens ferus* (Linn.)," pp. 33-34 says: "Now to deal in detail with these cases which Linnaeus classifies under the rubric of *Homo sapiens ferus*, and with which he begins his work *Systema naturae*, as for example his *Juvenis ovinus Hibernus*, who was taken around Holland in a show when he was a sixteen-year-old boy. Here he was described by the elder Tulp (*Observat. medicae*, p. 312 edition 1652), from whose entire account may well have been an idiotic, dumb, and mis-formed creature; but was hardly brought up from the cradle by *wild sheep* (which are as wild in Ireland as elsewhere). That in Amsterdam he ate grass and hay in front of the astonished spectators, I consider as conceivable as the supposed South Sea Islanders of Tanna, who some years ago were taken around to fairs and forced to eat stone. The romantic description from the otherwise so honorable Burgomeister of Amsterdam makes him look suspicious and not worth the consideration which he has been given by Schölzer and Herder."

Schreber (*Die Säugethiere* p. 33, fn. f.), also objects that there were no wild sheep in Ireland. To this objection by both Blumenbach and Schreber, Tafel in his *Fundamental-philosophie* p. 53 replies by saying "he could have wandered off with sheep into the woods, and there gone wild." It is not impossible, and a man outstanding in his own day (p. 210, fn. 18) like Tulp, is better able to judge its probability than one today. (Zingg)

have to talk about the strange position taken by Blumenbach, even though he was a Naturalist, against Linnaeus *Homo sapiens ferus*. Our next task is to look at the case itself, which contains everything that is important: the lack of real human reason and language on the one hand, and the degree of recovery possible from such a condition on the other.

Tulp¹⁸ gives the following about him, which I have somewhat shortened in translation: "He was brought to Amsterdam as a youth of about sixteen years of age. In Ireland he escaped from his parents and had lived among sheep from his earliest infancy, and had taken over their nature. He had a nimble body which was in constant movement. He was of insolent mien, had firm flesh, dry sunburned skin, vigorous members, and a low retreating forehead domed up to a bumpy occiput. His actions were crude, fearless, and unplanned, without any humanness. In addition to being physically healthy, he enjoyed the greatest well-being. He had no human voice but bleated like a sheep. He refused our common foods and drinks; and, on the contrary, ate only grass and hay like a sheep. To choose anything to eat he would turn it around several times examining it, and trying first this and that, finally chose that which was agreeable to his nose and his taste. As he had lived in the rough mountains and wild places, he was not less untamed—a friend of heights, pathless regions, and unattainable places. He was accustomed to live under the open sky, endured winter and summer, and for a long time had escaped the snares of the hunters, until, at last, he fell into their nets. He had more the look of an animal than of humans. Not liking to live among people, he did not lose his wildness for a long time. His throat was wide and broad and his tongue seemed to be an extension of his palate. The region of the heart was pressed upwards as a result of his bent-forward position in walking."¹⁹

¹⁸ Nicol. Tulpii Amstelredamensis *Observationes medicae* Ed. nova, libro quarto auctior. Amas. 1672, Lib. V. Cap. 10, pp. 296-298. Tulp's face is well-known since Rembrandt's "The Anatomy Lesson" (painted 1632 and still in the Hague) shows Dr. Nicolaes Pietersz Tulp (1593-1674) dissecting before his younger colleagues, the cadaver of the executed criminal Adriaen Ardiaensz. G. Baldwin Brown, M. A.; *Rembrandt; A Study of His Life and Work*, (London) Duckworth and Company, (New York) Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907.

For Tulp's biography see: *North Carolina Medical Journal*, Wilmington. 1881. Vol. vii, pp. 204-8, article by G. J. Fisher. (Zingg)

¹⁹ Tylor ("Wild Men and Beast-Children," p. 28) is too closely following Blumenbach in dismissing the Irish sheep boy with the following words, "As for the other stories of wild children, they are scarcely worth mentioning. The boy described by Tulp (i.e., tulip, a surname interesting as belonging to a Dutch burgomaster), who was brought to Amsterdam (probably as a show), and who had been caught in Ireland living among *wild sheep*, who ate grass and hay and bleated, was, as the very description shows, a poor dumb idiot, and about as much wild boy as the wretched malformed Red Indian children that drew crowds of sightseers in London, not long ago, were 'Aztec Children of the Sun.'" (Zingg)

A new species of animal foster mother is involved in the following data from Rauber.²⁰

The Lithuanian boys
(*Juvenes ursini Lithuani*)

Case XXII. First Case

Following the information of Tylkowski (P. S. J.),²¹ an eye-witness who says that about 1657 in the woods of Lithuania a boy was found among bears and captured with them. He had completely animal tendencies, customs, and ways of expressing his wants. Brought to Warsaw, he was given the name of Joseph in baptism. With much care he was taught to go erect, but his movements were more bearlike than walking. His skin was dry, he was very strong, the voice lacking or very much more like the growling of a bear (*murmur ursinum*), his whole occupation consisted of rolling himself into a ball and of seeking a corner, bear-fashion in which he loitered growling. He could not be taught to make the sign of the cross. He reached his hand to me that I should make the sign of the cross on his breast. His face was animal-like and would not have been ugly had it not been disfigured by many scars,²² with which his breast was also covered. These scars he carried from the bears and later from dogs. His appetite caused him to prefer grass, cabbage scraps, raw meat; and he longed for the woods. The hair of his head was white and very thick, as it is among the bears of Russia and some parts of Lithuania. His fingers were longish, the forehead medium-sized, the voice entirely that of a bear. He was forced to dress by means of blows. He appeared to be twelve years old, while we are writing this in Warsaw. This boy is mentioned by Kircher in his *China Illustrata*: Cobat, S. J. in the *Experientiis Theologico-Sacramentalibus*: Chwalkowski in the *Singularibus Poloniae* wherein he adds that the boy was found in the Grodnow'schen woods at the same time as another who escaped from the hands of the hunters through flight, while the first was caught and brought to Warsaw to the court of the King Johann Casimir.

If we refer to the above-mentioned report of Athanasius Kircher²³ we find: "If one wishes stubbornly to hold fast to the opinion of wild men

²⁰ A. Rauber: *Homo Sapiens Ferus*, pp. 21-28.

²¹ *Historia naturalis curiosa Regni Poloniae, Magni Ducatus Lituaniae annexarumque provinciarum: ex. Scriptoribus probatis, servata primigenia eorum phrasi in locis plurimis ex MSS. varia Testibus oculatis, relationibus fide dignis, experimentis, desumpta opera P. Gabrielis Rzaczynski Soc. Jesu, Sandomiriac . . . 1721 p. 354.* (Rauber)

²² The wild boy of Aveyron was also covered with scars as a result of his life in the wilds. See Itard, Jean-Marc-Gaspard: *The Wild Boy of Aveyron*, N. Y., 1932, p. 9. (Zingg)

²³ Ath. Kircheri soc. Jesu: *China monumentalis . . . illustrata*. Amstel. 1667, p. 194. (Rauber)

(*Waldmenschen*), he should know that the case has happened of boys who were abandoned in the woods and left to themselves, to be kept alive by God's Providence by wild animals or in other ways. . . . Since these children are not able to escape from the wild labyrinths of the waste-lands, they lead a life like animals, rather enveloped in their own hair than dressed. If they are captured by hunters they are spoken of as wild men (*Waldmenschen*). They are really human, though wild, who are merely lacking in culture and lead a life more animal than human. Such a boy is described who in 1663 was found among bears in the woods of Lithuania. He showed the voice and behaviour of bears with which he had lived and among which he had been bought up. He did not know any other food than raw meat, until with much care he had been taught to eat our food. Also he was taught *to talk*."

According to L. Moreri's statement²⁴ borrowed from Redwit, the discovery occurred in 1661, "by hunters who followed their game into some woods of Lithuania and saw a group of bears. Among them they noticed two little beings which had human forms. The hunters followed them so zealously that they caught one of them despite his resistance and shrieking, his gnashing of teeth and defense with his nails like that of a wild young bear. They chained him and brought him to Warsaw before the King and Queen of Poland. The whole nobility and the entire town came running to see the child, which then seemed to be nine years old. His skin was extremely white, as was his hair. His members were well proportioned and strong. His face was handsome, his eyes were blue; but all his senses were animal-like (*vertiert*). He was so devoid of intelligence and reason that he seemed to have nothing human about him, except his body. He never had the use of speech, and all his tendencies were animal-like. He was recognized as a human being and in this quality was baptized by the Bishop of Posen and christened Joseph. The Queen of Poland wished to be his god-mother, and the French Ambassador became his god-father. It needed no little effort to temper and tame the wild nature of this child, as well as to teach him some ideas of religion, for he never learned to speak perfectly, even though he had no defect in his tongue. Anyone observed that the time spent on his education was not entirely lost, for if one called the name of the Lord, he raised his hands and eyes to the sky. The King gave him to a nobleman of Poland, who took him to his house that he might serve him with the other servants. Alone he could not give up the wildness of his nature, which he had gained among the animals. But even so, he took the custom of walking on two feet and went to where one called him. Raw and cooked meat were equally welcome to him. He did not like clothes on his body, nor shoes. He never

²⁴ Louis Moreri, *La Grand Dictionnaire historique*. Vol. VI, Basle, 1732, p. 994, Urain. (Raubert)

covered his head. From time to time he escaped into the woods where he enjoyed tearing bark from the trees with his nails in order to suck its juice. Once it was observed that a bear who had killed two people approached him without harming him, but, on the contrary the bear caressed his body and face.²⁵ This is told about him by Johann Redwits in a poem.²⁶

²⁵ This story may not be altogether fabulous. Sleeman tells of a wolf-child from India, to which wolves fearlessly entered a human encampment to play with him. Sleeman, Sir W. H.: *A Journey through the Kingdom of Oude*, London, 1858, p. 218, here cited p. 152, at fn. 15. (Zingg)

²⁶ Of the poet Redwit, Rauber tells us nothing nor was the present author able to ascertain anything about him. It is surprising that Rauber should have used a much later secondary source, Moreri (1732), on this case, based on the unknown Redwit when better material was available to him in *The History of Poland in Several Letters to Persons of Quality* . . . (London, Printed by J. D. for Dan. Brown without Temple-Bar and A. Roper in Fleetstreet MDCXCVIII 1698, Vol. I, pp. 348-350) by Bern. Connor, M. D., Fellow of the Royal Society and Member of the College of Physicians; who in his travels in that Country collected these Memoirs from the best authors, and his own observations. Published by the Care and Assistance of Mr. Savage.

Rauber cites this book of Connor's for the data on the second case of a bear-boy from Lithuania, which Connor actually saw. On the first case, Connor cites an original source from an "authentic author." Connor is not critical as he cites but does not commit himself about the story of another "authentick author" a story in Poland about a child in Poland born with a tooth of gold *op. cit.*, p. 150. However he does accept the story of the first bear-child as consistent with what he saw and could learn of the case which he saw. His book gives the same facts as the account in the text:

For another Confirmation of this Matter of fact, I have the Testimony of an authentic Author, *M. Christopher Hartknoch of Passenheim in Ducal Prussia*, who writ two books of the State of *Poland* (Tylor gives the name of one of these as *De Republica Polonica—Zingg*). He says, that during the Reign of King *John Casimir* in the year 1669, there happened an Accident, which perhaps might hardly be credited by Posterity; which was, that there was then two Boys found by a Company of Soldiers among the Bears in the Woods near *Grodna*; one of which, as soon as he saw the Bears assaulted, fled into the neighboring Morass, whilst the other endeavouring likewise to escape, was taken by Soldiers and brought to *Warsaw*, where he was afterwards christen'd by the name of *Joseph*. He was about twelve or thirteen years old, as might be guess by his height, but his Manners were altogether bestial; for he not only fed upon raw Flesh, wild Honey, Crab-apples, and such like Dainties which Bears are us'd to feast with, but also went, like them, upon all-four. After his Baptism he was not taught to go upright without a great deal of difficulty, and there was less hopes of ever making him learn the *Polish* Language, for he always continu'd to express his Mind in a kind of Bear-like Tone. Some time after King *Casimir* made a present of him to *Peter Adam Opalinski*, Vice-Chamberlain of *Posnan*, by whom he was employed in the Offices of his Kitchen, as to carry Wood, Water, etc. but yet he could never be brought to relinquish his native Wildness, which he retained to his dying-day; for he would often go into the woods amongst the Bears, and freely keep company with them without any fear, or harm done him, being, as was supposed, constantly acknowledged for their Fosterling.

I might here, *Sir*, give several other Accounts of this Nature, which I had related to me when I was in *Poland*; and I am told Mr. *Gibson*, a Parliament-man, has formerly seen some other Examples of this kind in that Kingdom; but by what I have already mentioned, I believe you will be sufficiently convinc'd, that the History of *Romulus* and *Remus* is not



Artist's conception of the Bear-boy of Lithuania
Copper etching from Connor: *History of Poland* 1698

In agreement with Moreri, Prof. Müller ²⁷ tells of these boys as a completely convincing example of man left completely to nature and from

so fabulous as it is generally conjectured to be, and as I thought myself it was before I had been in this Country; for considering that Brutes (since Philosophers and Divines will allow them no Rational Souls) breed up their young merely out of a natural Instinct or Sympathy, which I need not describe here, I see no Improbability why they may not likewise bring up those of another Kind, as we have several Instances daily. But I will not insist longer upon these Philosophical Matters, nor examine here whether Examples of this nature refute or establish innate Ideas, as I have done in my *Medicina Mystica*, but will conclude,

Sir,
Your very Obedient Servant
B. C.

²⁷ Phil. L. St. Müller, Prof. zu Erlangen: *Linné's vollständiges Natursystem, nach der 12 lat. ausgabe u. s. w. mit einer ausführlichen Erklärung*. Pt. I, Nürnberg, 1775. (Raubert)

youth left to himself in the wilds, who cannot learn any language, becoming wild and even taking on an animal-like appearance.

Although there is no complete agreement in the different sources about the date of his rescue, or in regard to his later learning to speak; still one is more apt to believe that the above-mentioned report involves one and the same case, than that two similar cases are involved in the reports.

According to Kircher the boy learned to speak, while according to the Redwits-Moreri account he did not. Even if it remains uncertain whether he learned to speak or not, the remark is important in this regard that at the mention of God's name, he raised his hands and eyes to the sky. He was thus not lacking in the ability to form the corresponding concept, even though he couldn't express it in a word. Furthermore Redwits-Moreri prominently mentions that he went to a place where he was called.

Blumenbach,²⁸ of course dismissed the *Juvenis ursini Lithuani* with the following words: "Also regarding the *Juvenis Ursinus Lithuanus*, there is something to be taken away, as for example what the original writer, the enthusiastic Conner, tells us in his *medicina mystica s. de miraculis*²⁹ that it was not uncommon in Poland that if a sucking she-bear should find a child, she would bring it to her nest and nurse it. About this the elder *Joh. Dan. Geyer* in his monograph, *von den Lithuaischen Barenmenschen*, gives several instances, particularly that of an eight or nine year old so-called bear-boy who was given to King Johannes III, who had him play the fife in a military band, regardless of the fact that he would have rather walked on four legs than on two." But no one will be able to see in these words of Blumenbach a denial of the real facts.

Cases XXIII and XXIV. Cases two and three

An eye-witness of the one case is the later Netherlands Ambassador to London J. P. van Brande Kleverskerk; while an eye-witness to the other case is Dr. Bernard Connor. The years of these discoveries are 1669 and 1694. Dr. Connor³⁰ of London was earlier the private doctor of King

²⁸ Blumenbach, J. F.: "Regarding *Homo Sapiens Ferus* (Linn.)," pp. 36-37.

²⁹ Page 133 of the edition of 1699. cf. *History of Poland*, London 1698, 8. Pt. I, p. 342 where there is presented a good-looking copper print of a little Pole who is sucking on the she-bear between two little bears. (Blumenbach)

³⁰ Connor, *History of Poland*, London, 1698, 8, Pt. I p. 342. Translated from the English; Leipzig, by Thomas Fritch, 1700, pp. 388-396. (Raubert)

Tafel in his *Fundamentalphilosophie* pp. 58-60, fn., gives us in French the following biography of Connor; translated from *Biographie universelle ancienne et moderne*, tome 9, Paris 1815, p. 424:

Connor (Bernard), English doctor of medicine, was born about 1666 in the county of Kerry, in Ireland, of an old family. He came to France in 1686 to finish his studies in Montpellier and in Paris. From there he accompanied the two sons of the Grand Chancellor of Poland to that Kingdom. He was well received at the Court of Sobiesky, and at the

Johannes III of Poland. Connor says of the case that happened in 1694, during his own stay at the court of King Johann Sobieski: "No part of the realm of the King of Poland has more woods and deserts than Lithuania. Among others there is a wood which is a hundred miles long, where live a people who are very wild and ignorant; although the Lithuanian nobility is mostly much more polite, more clever, and more amiable in society than even the Poles. I was often assured in the Court that often little children are suckled and brought up by the bears, of which there are many in the Lithuanian woods. This is believed for certain throughout the entire Kingdom. They had such a child in a monastery during my time there, as I have mentioned in my Latin treatise, Of the Suspensions of the Laws of nature (*De Suspensione legum naturae*). This boy was about ten years old (as one could only suppose from his figure and face); he had a terrible figure, and could neither use his reason nor talk. He walked on all-fours, and had no human semblance except in his human structure. But because he appeared to be a human being he was baptised. But he was always unquiet and wild, and often wanted to run away. Finally he was taught to stand erect by leaning his body upright against

age of twenty-eight years was named to be the first doctor to this King. Nevertheless he did not stay in Poland any longer than necessary to study the natural history of that country. He returned to England in 1695 and with great success gave public lectures on animal economy (Anatomy and physiology to judge by the excerpt printed at the end of the *History of Poland*—Zingg) at Oxford, and distinguished himself by the clear and methodic way he taught.

He published under the title of *Dissertationes*, etc., treatises on definite subjects of medicine, and natural history in 1695 in 8°. In the same year he was elected a member of the Royal Society and of the Royal College of Physicians in London. In 1696 he held public lectures in Cambridge.

In 1697 he published a work which is very curious, called: *Evangelium medici, seu medicina mystica de suspensis naturae legibus, sive de miraculis reliquisque memorata, quae medicae imagini subijci possunt*, London 1697, 8°.

This had a second edition that year in England in 12° and two editions in Holland 1697 and 1699 in 8°. The object of this work was to explain scientifically how the Almighty must have acted to produce the miracles reported in the Scriptures . . . and thus to convince the sceptics and deists. Because his intentions may not have been clear or because of the delicacy of his problem it was impossible that some of his conclusions should not have been susceptible to criticism. Indeed this work provoked a great scandal against the author (one supposes by the religious—Zingg) and his work ran to two editions a year.

The death of King Sobiesky and the events that this caused afterwards gave Connor occasion to publish two volumes of his letters written about Poland. Though written hastily, as every opportune book is, this work contains interesting and curious details from this country.

(This work, of course, is *The History of Poland*, the publication of which was finished after Connor's death in 1698, at only thirty-two years of age.)

An extensive bibliography of Connor's works in both English and Latin is given by: Robert Watt, M. D.; *Bibliotheca Britannica*. Edinburgh. Printed for Archibald Constable and Company, Edinburgh; and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown & Green; and Hurst Robinson & Co., London, 1825. (Zingg)

a wall as one teaches dogs to stand up. After having accustomed him to eat at a table with other people, he became a little tamer after a while and began to express his thoughts in a rough and almost unhuman voice and speech. But if one asked him about his life in the wilds, he could tell as little about it, as we can tell about our doings in the cradle. By the King himself as well as the different Royal Councilors and other high persons of the realm, I was assured about all that I have written about this bear-boy; and, indeed, it is a general and undoubted report of the whole Kingdom. Furthermore they tell that if a hungry he-bear finds a child which someone has carelessly left lying somewhere, he would tear the child to pieces. But if a sucking she-bear should find such a child, she will carry it immediately to her den and give it suck with her cubs and bring it up. Such children are sometimes found by hunters and saved from the claws of the bears, after some time, as happened also in 1669 according to a letter which I have received from His Excellence Heer van Kleverskerk, nobleman of Holland, now Ambassador to London, and here printed as not without value:

'To Mr. Connor:

Sir:

'To fulfill your request, I write herewith a short report about the boy which I saw in 1661 in Warsaw, who had been brought up by bears. When I came to this city with the intention of assisting in the election of a king, made necessary by the free abdication of Johann Casimir, I inquired, among other things, what curiosities there were to be seen in that place. Thereupon, I was informed that, among other things, there was to be seen in a convent in a suburb (which leads to the palace of King Casimir) a boy who had been brought up by bears and was caught some time ago on a bear hunt. When I heard this, I went immediately to this place where I saw the boy playing under a pent-house in front of the gates of the convent. He might have been twelve or thirteen years old. As soon as I came a little near to him, he jumped on me as if he was amazed at my clothes, and liked them. At first he took one of my silver buttons in his hands with great eagerness, held it to his nose, and smelled of it. Thereupon he jumped suddenly into a corner, and began to scream strangely, which was not much different from the sounds that bears make. I went into the house and found a servant-girl who told me in detail how this bear boy was caught. I cannot give a report of this because I did not carry with me the book wherein I used to write the observations of my travels. This maid called the wild boy to her, and showed him a large piece of bread. As soon as he saw this, he jumped on a bench which was standing against the wall of the house, and on to which he crawled on all fours, pulling himself up with a great spring. He took the bread in both his hands, held it to his nose, and jumped down from the bench to

the ground and began shrieking loudly as before. I was told that he could not talk yet but that it was hoped that he would learn soon because he had a good hearing. He had a few scars on his face, which it was believed were claw marks made by the bears.

'This is all that I can remember, after having seen it so long ago. Nobody has any cause to doubt the truth of this story because many distinctly similar examples are found in history.

'Yet that such a thing could easily have happened in Lithuania and Poland is made more credible by the following facts which I shall add herewith. It has been known that the Tartars³¹ often raid this kingdom. They do so with such uncommon speed that within a very short time they swarm over a very large part of the country because their horses can run a whole day without rest or food. When they reach their destination they draw in toward it in a very large circle catching as though with a net everyone that comes into their power, whom they sell into slavery. When men and women fall into such danger and wish to escape, they have not much time to think of their children. Therefore it is very probable that this boy had been left by his relatives in just such a manner, and was found and brought up afterwards by bears, because there are so many of these animals in Poland and Lithuania. I am sorry that I cannot give you a more detailed report, but I hope that this might serve to show my good intention, and as an assurance that, my dear sir, I will always be

Your most affectionate servant,

J. P. van der Brande de Kleverskerk.'

"That we have to do in fact with three distinct cases: the first occurring in 1657-1663, the second in 1669, and the third in 1694, appears the more certain the more carefully we compare the details."

Tylor's "Wild Men and Beast-Children" summarizes these cases as factual ones rather than fabulous. Probably due to the availability of Connor's *History of Poland* in England, he appears to have gone to the primary sources of the third bear-boy of Lithuania. He says:

... in another case of this nature in the year 1669, which has been positively asserted to me in a letter from his Excellency Monsieur de Cleverkerk, now Ambassador here to his Majesty King William, from the States of Holland, which letter I thought not amiss to insert.³²

The letter, dated January 1, 1698, relates that the writer was in Warsaw in 1661, and saw a boy at a convent there, who they told him had been caught some time before at a bear-hunt. The description he gives

³¹ Cossacks, probably more properly. (Zingg)

³² Bernard Connor: *History of Poland*. London, 1698, Vol. I p. 342, etc. *Evangelium Medici*, London, 1697, p. 181, etc. (Tylor)

comes to this, that the boy was a half brutal idiot, who ran on all fours to seize the bread which was given him.

Another account of this case, apparently an independent one, is quoted by Koenig³³ from Hartknoch, *De Republica Polonica*. He says that in the year 1661 two boys were found in company with several bears in the woods of Grodno. One of them escaped with the bears into a marsh; but the other one was taken. This boy appeared to be eight or nine years old, went on all fours, and ate greedily such things as bears love, such as raw flesh, apples, and honey. He was taken to the king at Warsaw, and baptised Joseph. With some difficulty he was taught to walk upright. He could not learn to speak Polish, but expressed himself with a bearlike growl (*murmure ursino*). The king gave him to a vice-chamberlain of Poland called Peter Adam Opalinski, in whose kitchen he was employed to do menial work. But he never lost his wildness and would sometimes go off to the woods, where the bears never molested him. Koenig gives at full length a wearisome Latin poem, which was written about this Joseph in 1674.

Rauber gives the following unsatisfactory data about another bear-child.³⁴

Case XXV. The Bear-girl of Hungary

Following to the data of Fond, Virey³⁵ tells:

"Sigaud de la Fond cites in his *Dictionnaire des merveilles de la nature*, the history of another young girl found in 1767 in lower Hungary in the County of Hont. The inhabitants of Fraumark, pursuing a bear of extraordinary size, persevered in the chase till the most remote place in the mountains, where doubtlessly no human being had dared to enter. They were very surprised to discover the remains of human foot-prints in the snow. Following the tracks, they came to a cave in the rocks in which a completely naked wild girl was found. She was tall, robust, and seemed to be about eighteen years old. Her skin was brown and she looked frightened. Her behavior was very crude. They had to use violence to make her leave the cave. But she did not cry and did not shed any tears. Finally they succeeded in bringing her to Karpfen, a small town of the country of Atsohl, where she was locked up in an Asylum. She would only eat raw meat, which she devoured with an extraordinary appetite, as well as wild roots and bark of trees; but she refused cooked meat. It was not possible to discover how she had been left in these inaccessible mountains and

³³ Koenig: *Schediasma de hominum inter feras educatorum statu naturali solitario*. Hanover, 1730. (Tylor)

³⁴ A. Rauber: *Homo Sapiens Ferus*, pp. 49-50.

³⁵ Virey: *Nouveau Dictionnaire d'histoire naturelle*. Vol. XV, Paris 1817, p. 326. (Rauber)

wild forests, nor in which manner she had been able to escape the teeth of the ferocious animals which lived there."

Wonders of Nature Vol. II (from the French) Leipzig, 1783, p. 356, tells the same data about the above mentioned girl. . . .

Case XXVI. Bear-girl from India

Sir James Frazer in his *Fasti Ovid*³⁶ follows Tylor and other English anthropologists in accepting as probable Sleeman's cases, as well as citing V. Ball's account of the well-authenticated Sikandra case of Sanichar (see p. 159 ff.). This best-known of the English anthropologists also adds another possible Indian case, that of a bear-girl, the only case of this sort mentioned for India. The complete data which follow,³⁷ might still be checked from people still living concerned with the case. All that is recorded is as follows:

When I was in Calcutta in September last, I heard that a wild girl had been brought down to Calcutta and that people had been flocking by hundreds to see her. Owing to the pressure of business I could not pay a visit to the wild girl and have a look at her. The following short story of this strange girl appeared in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of Wednesday, the 14th December 1892:—

"One of the missionaries of the New Dispensation Church (the late Babu Keshub Sen's Brahmo Somaj), in his recent tour of Jalpaiguri, came across an idiot girl of about eight years of age. The girl roved through the streets, appeasing her appetite with whatever food the people offered her, and at night slept under trees or under the open sky. The history of the girl is wonderful. We sometimes read in books of legendary stories of human beings nursed by lions, wolves, and bears, the girl is a living instance of such nursing. The girl has the features of the hill people. She was discovered by some coolies belonging to a tea garden in the den of a bear. It is presumed that she was brought there by some unaccountable circumstances, and when very young was nursed by her bear-mother. When first taken out of the den, she was a strange combination of a bear and a man, she was ferocious like a bear, and attempted to bite and scratch men when she saw them. In her locomotion she used her legs as well as her hands, and moved like a bear. She growled at intervals

³⁶ Frazer, Sir James: *The Fasti of Ovid*, 5 volumes. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street. London, 1929. Volume 2, pp. 369-381.

³⁷ Mitra, Sarat Chandra, M.A., B.L. (Pleader, Dist. Judge's Court, District Saran Chupra). "On a Wild Boy and a Wild Girl." *The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. III, 1892, 3, 4. Edited by the Honorable Secretary, Bombay. Bombay: Society's Office. Town Hall, pp. 109-111.

like a bear and ate and drank as a bear; in short, all her habits were like those of a bear, while by her features no one could fail to recognize her as a human being. The police afterwards took her under their custody; this happened when she was about three years of age. She was then put in the Jalpaiguri hospital, where she forgot much of her strange habits. She learnt to walk, eat, and drink like a human being, and showed certain emotions which were peculiar to man. The hospital authorities retained her about three years, and afterwards thinking her an incurable discharged her. The said missionary, who is the manager of an orphanage, took pity on her, and brought her down to the office of the *Unity and the Minister* newspaper (organ of the New Dispensation Church of the late Babu Chunder Sen) at No. 20, Patuatolla Lane, Calcutta. When we first saw her we were greatly impressed by her amiable and innocent appearance. She is rather bulky and has long hair. Even now she has not forsaken bear-like growls, and it is with some difficulty that she can walk like man. The only emotion which she incessantly expresses is by means of smiles, which oftentimes develop into loud laughter. She is more a laughing girl than anything else. She does not seem to understand human language, though her powers of hearing and seeing have been found on examination to be unimpaired. When food was brought to her, she readily stretched forth her hand to grasp it, and when she was in possession of it, or when she was engaged in consuming it, she laughed loudly and her smiles and laughter at times appeared very attractive and sweet. If there is anything about her that commands human sympathy, it is her smile. The Orphanage being considered an unsuitable place for her, she has been removed to the *Das Asram*, a philanthropic institution of Calcutta, founded by some Brahmo gentlemen on the lines of the Salvation Army, to afford an asylum to the poor and homeless waifs and strays of the Calcutta streets, where she is now taken care of. Hundreds of men and women now go to see her daily but she shows an aversion to being exhibited as an object of curiosity before a large number of people. By contact with society she is now generally acquiring human habits. It has been pronounced by medical men that she will gradually regain her humanity."

Some time ago I wrote to the Editor of the *Unity and the Minister* newspaper, requesting him to let me have further particulars regarding this phenomenal girl, and asking him whether a photograph of her is available for submission to the Anthropological Society of Bombay, but I regret to say that I have not been favored with any reply as yet, otherwise I could have given a fuller account of this strange girl.

The Bear-boy of Denmark

In themselves of little or no scientific value, the data on this and some of the next cases are given here for their historic interest and to keep the materials together here translated into English. The data on the bear-boy of Denmark come from a footnote in the works of a famous agnostic of the Italian Renaissance, Lucilio Vanini,³⁸ a priest who was convicted of atheism in France, his tongue cut out for his errors, and then suffered the garrote and burning of his body by the Inquisition, in 1619. In those more fanatical times less congenial to science, Vanini gives a discussion of some interest to anthropologists, and like Herder and Tafel, he gives a pre-evolutionary discussion of the origin of the human race and whether man ever walked on all fours. Here the following footnote occurs, which has been cited and translated by Bendysche in *The Anthropological Treatises of Johann Friedrich Blumenbach*:

A man of credit assured me that there was found in Denmark, a young man of about fourteen or fifteen years old, who had lived in the woods with bears, and who could not be distinguished from them but by his shape. They took him and learned him to speak; he said then, he could remember nothing but only since the time they took him from amongst the bears.

Case XXVII. Recent reports of a girl rescued from a bear on Mt. Olympus

Another possible case of the rescue from a bear of a nine-year-old girl on Mount Olympus is of especial interest since it is recent and still open for checking. This was reported by Reuter on June 13 (1937?). The story carries the suggestion that the girl had been reared by a she-bear which had carried her off from a farm when she was a baby. The fullest available details, none too good, are as follows:³⁹

"The Sick Stranger, Number 326." That is the official name of the nine-year-old Turkish "Mowgli Girl" recently found by hunters near Mount Olympus, where she lived for eight years as the adopted child of a huge she-bear.

³⁸ Anon. (David Durand): *La vie et les sentiments de Lucilio Vanini*. A. Rotterdam aux Depens de Gaspar Fritsch MDCCXVII (1717), summaries and excerpts his works including the anthropological discussion. This footnote is given in the original on p. 136, of that work.

³⁹ Maranz, George I.: "Raised by a She-bear that Stole her when a Baby." *The American Weekly*, Sept. 5, 1937.

Now in the hospital for mental diseases at Bakirkey, she is one of two thousand patients entered on the register, men and women who have lost their names and identities and who are known merely by numbers.

Professor Mazhar Osman, distinguished Turkish scientist, is personally in charge of the task of humanizing this girl. He is the director of the hospital, and he is hopeful that eventually, the little bear-girl may become a normal human being; that she will stop snarling and biting those who try to approach her, and that she will learn to walk erect and without the stoop and gait which she seems to have borrowed from the bear that reared her.

"When we can manage to make the girl smile for the first time," I was told, "then we will know she can become a normal human child."

Discovery of this girl who had lived the life of an animal naturally caused wide interest, not only in Turkey, but all over the world, and particularly in Hungary, where, not so long ago Istoki, the beast-boy, was found much in the same manner as the hunters found the bear girl. . . .

I had some difficulty winning my way into the Bakirkey building, to see the bear-girl, because the staff had strict orders to refuse admittance to newspaper men, and above all to prevent anyone from taking a photograph of the bear-girl. At last I reached a small white building, where a nurse presided over thirty juvenile patients. There was no furniture in the room and the children, pitiful creatures, all, were crowded at the latticed windows. Some, who could not get to the windows were seated on the floor babbling.

Suddenly I caught sight of the bear-girl. She seemed to keep aloof from the other children. Her head drooped and she crouched in a shadowy alcove. She was dressed only in an old brown bathing suit, and as she was bare-legged, I could see the unusually well-developed muscles of her legs. Her arms seemed astonishingly long. Her hair was dark and thick and covered her forehead.

I shall never forget her eyes. They were the eyes of a prisoned wild beast, filled with longing for the freedom of the forest. She stared defiantly and distrustfully at the nurse, when we approached her.

"Gel, gel—come here, come here," said the nurse and the girl raised herself. "Gel" and "git"—"come" and "go"—are the only two words she understands.

The girl's gait showed distinctly the strange "school" she had frequented for many years. She came along with drooping head, inclining her body forward, swinging her long arms almost down to the floor. At a distance of one step from me, the nurse and the bear-girl stopped. Continuing to keep her head down the girl raised her eyes toward my face.

"İsmin nedir—what is your name?" I asked her, but she did not an-

swer my question. I tried to caress her head but she drew it away and growled.

"Shimde git—go now," said the nurse, and the girl heavily turned around and walked back to the corner.

"We are not aware," said the doctor, "of any advance in her evolution. When we took her in our hospital she growled like a young bear and tried to attack everybody who got near her. We have been forced to keep her at night in a single room. Little by little she has ceased to be a beast but without becoming a human being. Some time ago we were able to bring her into contact with other children, and now we hope she will learn to speak from them.

"Hunger taught her to take human diet. During the first two days of her stay in the hospital she refused to take any cooked food, but on the third day she gulped down everything she got to eat.

"Now we are leaving her instruction as to language in the hands of time. When she starts to speak, then our task will have been performed and the girl will leave the hospital in order to attend a school. But even in case that she learns to speak, I doubt whether she will ever tell us about her life in the forest. The new impressions will fill up her brain and they certainly will displace the old dark memories."

The doctors at the hospital have no doubt that the bear girl spent fully eight years as an animal. Acquired characteristics convinced them of that, but for the story of how she was finally snatched away from her primitive abode, the doctor advised me to go to the place where she was found and to make my own researches.

I followed his advice and sailed the next day for Mudanya, and from this port I went by automobile to Brussa, near where the girl was captured.

The first man I visited in Brussa was Sedad Ataman, editor of a local newspaper. I informed Sedad Ataman of the purpose of my visit and he immediately promised to call one of the hunters who had captured the bear-girl. A few minutes later the office boy came back accompanied by the hunter, Ali Osman.

"It was the most exciting event in my life," Ali Osman told me. "Accompanied by another hunter, named Bahri, I climbed up the Uludag (Mt. Olympus) to shoot one of the bears inhabiting this mountain. For a long time we wandered about in vain and the sun had already sunk below the horizon when I suddenly sighted an enormous she-bear at a distance of only a few yards. I leveled the gun and fired. The bear reared up and then dropped. I drew nearer to the carcass, and when I reached it I heard my friend Bahri set up a cry to chill one's marrow. I turned around and saw him throwing away his gun and rushing off headlong. I turned again in the opposite direction and—I swear the thing I saw made my

hair stand on end, made the blood curdle in my veins, made my heart stand still.

"Growling and spitting, a naked wood spirit leaped forward from the thicket and rushed towards me. It was standing upright, but stooped in walking. Its hair, long and beautiful, flew in the wind. And its eyes, Effendi, its eyes! They seemed to me to be burning and to shine like two searchlights.

"I could not even form an idea as to what to do, when it reached me and threw itself with a howl of rage upon me. It attacked me with teeth and nails and tried to bite through my throat. Finally I succeeded in forcing the creature down. Only now I saw that the "wood spirit" was nothing but a little girl endowed with abnormal strength.

"When my friend Bahri saw that I had survived the struggle, he timidly approached and, after I had set him right concerning the girl, he summoned up courage and we were able to bind the child with our belts.

"Not far from the place where we killed the bear we saw its lair and we found there conclusive proof that a human being had shared the lodging of the beast over a period of years.

"After having visited the bear's lair we returned to the place where we had left our captive. She was exhausted and she followed us with bound arms without offering any resistance. The very next day we brought her to Istanbul and then to the hospital of Bakirkey where she has been living up to now."

"Some questions are yet to be answered," I said, when Ali Osman finished his tale. "Who is the girl? Who are her parents? How many years did she spend in the forest reared by the she-bear?"

"I am sorry but I cannot answer your questions," answered Ali Osman. "We informed the local authorities about our capture and they made extensive inquiries about the origin of the girl. But as far as I know they learned that the probable parents of the girl have been dead for a long time and that no other relatives of hers are living. Perhaps you may learn some details about the origin of this girl at the village of Mussalilar. If you like, Bey, I shall accompany you to this village."

I accepted with thanks, and at six in the morning of the following day Sedad Ataman, Ali Osman, and myself started with a car to the village. One hour and a half with the car we followed a beautiful road; then we had to travel on foot one hour more, until we reached the village.

The peasants received us hospitably; a carpet was brought and unfolded in the shadow of a tree, black Turkish coffee was offered to everybody.

After the peasants learned about our errand they called for the eighty-year-old hodja—"teacher" of the village, who knew everybody and everything.

"Uludag is great and its mysteries are numerous," said the hodja when we asked him to tell us all he knew about the bear-child.

"Our village," he continued, "has been at war with bears throughout the memory of man. Night after night they come, steal everything they can, devastate our gardens and fields.

"But only once has it ever happened that a child was kidnaped by a bear. It was eight years ago, when a woman came to our village bringing with her a three-months-old child and asked us to procure her work and bread. Hands are always needed at our village and so it came about that Fatma and her daughter Esma remained with us. One day Fatma went to the forest to gather some brushwood. She took her daughter with her and left her on the ground not far from the place where she herself was working.

"Half an hour had passed when she suddenly heard a cry, and turning round she saw to her horror an enormous she-bear clutching the child's long clothes in the teeth and trotting off with it toward the forest. Fatma tried in vain to reach the bear. When the beast saw that it was followed by the woman it doubled its speed and disappeared in the thicket. A hunter heard the screams of Fatma and rushed hither. They searched long hours, but in vain.

"Fatma said always that the sight of Uludag reminded her of the horrible thing. One day she said good-bye to us and left our village. Nobody knows whence she came—nobody knows where she went.

"You wish to know whether the child recently found by hunters may be the little Esma lost eight years ago? I think it possible but it will be never ascertained with certainty. Numerous are the mysteries of Uludag, but it never lets anybody into its secrets."

Case XXVIII. Another possible Wild-boy from Greece

That conditions of isolation in Greece in modern times have been severe enough for such a happening as the foregoing is suggested by the following story of 1891. This case, in its association with sheep, without evidence of suckling, parallels the most inadequately documented classical case of Linnaeus, which follows—that of the wild-boys of the Pyrenees. These cases do not indicate animal-suckled feral man; but rather the sort to be discussed in the next chapter, man reduced to a feral condition by surviving in isolation after being lost in the wilds as a child old enough to walk.

This case was communicated to the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*⁴⁰ (Berlin) as follows:

⁴⁰ Ornstein, Hr. B.: (17) "Wilden Menschen in Trikkala" *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Organ der Berlin Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Vol. 23, 1891, pp. 817-818.

In view of the insufficient scientific sources which are here available to me, I am unable to say whether many cases of so-called feral (wilden) man are recorded in anthropological literature. Now for the first time in my 56-year stay in Greece there comes to my attention, news which is so commanding that on account of the official inquiries as to its truth, the matter seems to stand beyond all doubt. The first news about this remarkable discovery was published in the *Ephemeris* of 14/26 Oct. d.J.m which had been borrowed from a local paper *Volo* . . . From the *Ephemeris*, which picked up this news, the story of this sensation broke into the entire Press of the capital. The aforesaid article of the above-named paper carried the headline, "A Wild Man on Pindus." Its contents is given in the translation below:

"The discovery of this half-human, half-animal creature, we owe to the pensioned Lt. Demetriades, the inspector of the royal forest preserves on the Pindus. He was tired from hunting roe and directed his course toward a herd of sheep to slake his thirst with a glass of milk. On the way there in the bushes at one side, he heard a noise which attracted his attention. As he neared the place he noticed between the bushes an animal, unknown to him, which hastened forwards in the same direction that he was going. Lt. Demetriades was undecided whether or not to take a shot at it, when he was deterred from it, by the warning cry of a shepherd in the vicinity. He followed the tracks attentively of the form, noteworthy because it walked sometimes upright, sometimes on all fours, of the creature that accompanied him. He reached the herd of sheep at the same time it did, where it had immediately taken a vessel filled with whey which it drank thirstily.

"In reply to questions the old shepherd told the following:

"He is the son of a Roumanian from Wallachen, who in his time had settled down in Kastania. He left for his homeland in search of work and married there. He remained there a few years, and then came back from Kastania in 6 or 7 years with 4 or 5 children. Soon he died and left his wife and children in misery. Since it was not possible for the poor woman to support both herself and her children, she left the youngest child and returned to her homeland. The boy escaped from his adopted father and ran wild in the woods for four years. He is, as you see, naked. In summer he lives on whey from sheep, while in winter he stays on the mountain and lives on acorns and roots. He does not speak, and has no name.' "

The *Ephemeris* continues:

"Since the old patriarch of the shepherds had pity on the condition of the unlucky lad, and therefore did not wish to let him die, he tied him with a rope and brought him to the village, and gave him human clothing and food. Seldom has he left the wild boy from his side, and one sees him still in the streets of Trikkala performing all kinds of work for

his well-being and food. When he is away he has him always watched over by another, since he is not yet used to speech and words. All the sounds of the animal world of that region are familiar to him, and he imitates them perfectly. Also he is a good rider. His baptismal name is unknown. His guardian calls him Skiron."

In looking on the scanty and defective description on the personality of this wild boy, in lack of other causal factors, I am inclined to go back to the appropriate theories of Caspari, Noire, and Jäger to account for this case of the retardation of speech development.

Prof. Virchow: In another Athenian newspaper of the same date, Oct. 14, 1891, this story is also described in detail. However it does not contain anything that Herr Ornstein has not told us. We can only express the wish that any further details on the development of this boy may be collected and published.

Herr Virchow then spoke on a new collection of Skulls.

Another unauthenticated report, of about the same time as the foregoing, comes from *The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*.⁴¹ The data are as follows:

The following account of a boy of strange habits was communicated by a correspondent from Mozufferpore, in Behar, to the issue of the *Indian Mirror* (of Calcutta) of Sunday, the 19th February 1893:

"Babu Bhagelu Singh, a Zemindar of the Bhagalpore District, lately came out for hunting in his *diara* lands near a village called Bazitpore, a few miles off Dalsingsarai Station, on the Tirhut and Bengal Northwestern Railway. As he was aiming at a wild animal, he found someone like a human being at a distance entering the jungle, as if through fear. This aroused his curiosity, and he ordered his followers to hunt for the object. After diligent search they found a boy, about fourteen years old, who was stark naked. He has been brought from the jungle and kept in the *Cutcharry-barry* of the Zemindar Babu at Bazitpore. He cannot speak, but can laugh and make a chattering sound. He does not eat any cooked things, etc., but eats everything raw, such as raw fish, frogs, etc. When catching frogs or such other living creatures, he walks on all fours, and jumps on his prey like a cat. If the prey is secured, he at once puts it in his mouth and devours it. Daily a large number of people resort to the place to have a look at him. If money or any other metallic things are given to him, he throws them away. He is now being taught to eat cooked food, and has learnt to eat fried rice. Still he wears no clothes, and never enters a place of shelter save that of a tree. Lately he was attacked with

⁴¹ Mitra, Sarat Chandra. M.A., B.L.: "On a Wild Boy and A Wild Girl." *The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*. Vol. III, 1892-3-4. Bombay. pp. 111-112.

cholera, and the Zemindar Babu having attempted to administer some medicines, he fled from his *Cutcharry* to a river bank, and there drank water to his heart's content, and thus escaped out of the clutches of the fell disease. In all respects he resembles a man, the only difference is that he cannot speak. It is not known how he got into the jungle. Some say that either he was lost during his infancy, or thrown away by his parents owing to their extreme poverty, while others say that he was carried away from his cradle by a wild animal where he grew up under providential care. But the popular belief is that he is a Yogi. In case any of your readers be inclined to satisfy his curiosity, he may find the boy at village Bazitpore, near the Dalsingsarai Railway Station on the Tirhut and Bengal Northwestern Railway."

Case XXIX. The Wild-boys of the Pyrenees

The poorest of Linnaeus's cases was the *Pueri Pyrenaici*, 1717, the data for which are given by both Tafel⁴² and Rauber.⁴³ Tylor dismisses the case⁴⁴ as does Blumenbach,⁴⁵ and it hardly deserves more. We will translate Rauber's account:

We do not know anything about these, other than that they were two wild boys found in the Pyrenees in 1717, who walked on all fours and jumped from one rock to another as easily as a pair of chamois. In 1754 Rousseau wrote: "Two other savages were found in the Pyrenees, who ran through the mountains like quadrupeds." Virey writes about them (*Nouv. dictionnaire d'hist. nat.* Vol. XV p. 264, Paris, 1817) . . . "Men who were to mark the trees destined for naval constructions met them, but we have no other details on this case."

Though their works on feral man follow each other very closely Rauber must have missed Tafel's excellent discussion, but he cites it. Though they give the same meager facts on the Pyrenees boys, Tafel missed the reference to Virey, which mentions their being seen by men marking trees for naval construction. Contrariwise Rauber cannot have read Tafel carefully, because he gives some interesting information on Pyrenees cases, as he thought, in a book apparently by a naval architect which may make the *Pueri* a wild man of thirty and a girl of sixteen. This may be the lost

⁴² Tafel: *Fundamentalphilosophie*, p. 74.

⁴³ A. Rauber: *Homo Sapiens Ferus*, p. 32.

⁴⁴ Tylor, E. B.: "Wild Men and Beast-Children," p. 29, dismisses "the two boys seen to leap from crag to crag in the Pyrenees in 1717." *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Of this case Blumenbach, *op. cit.*, p. 40 says: "also there are the two *pueri pyrenaici* of 1717, as they were designated by Linnaeus, about whom I have not been able to find out very much."

source, which will still need work in the French libraries, since Tafel cites a book of 1777 (possibly a misprint for 1717), which may contain the information which Linnaeus dated 1717⁴⁶ and wrote about as early as 1758 in his *Systema naturae*. Though the scientific value of this information is even more questionable than the historical, the data should be included in this collection of materials. Tafel says (*Fundamentalphilosophie*, p. 123-4):

According to Le Roy,⁴⁷ in the Pyrenees, shepherds who herded their flocks in the wood of Ivory, saw a wild man in the year 1774, who lived in clefts in the rocks. He appeared to be about thirty years of age, was very tall with hair like that of a bear, *who could jump and run as quickly as a chamois*. He appeared to be bright and happy and, according to appearances was not ungente in character. He never had anything to do with anyone, and had no apparent interest in so doing. He often came near to the huts of the shepherds without making any attempt to take anything. Milk, bread, and cheese appeared to be unknown things to him, for he would not even take them when they were placed in his way. His greatest pleasure was to frighten the sheep, and break up the herds. When the shepherds put dogs on him, as they often did, he would disappear as quickly as an arrow shot from a bow, and he allowed no one to come near him. One morning he approached one of the huts, and as one of the people who belonged there approached him to catch him by the foot, he laughed and fled. Probably he had become lost in these woods of the great Spanish forests after he had learned to walk (and laugh—Zingg). No one knows what became of him.

Le Roy also tells that thirty years earlier in these forests of the Pyrenees, a girl of sixteen had been discovered in a thick wood. It was found that she had been lost in her ninth year, and had been brought out of isolation after seven years. When she again had to live among men, she was unhappy and wished to return to the freedom of her wild lonesomeness in which she had been found.

⁴⁶ This would be possible, of course, only if the book cited by Tafel, as of 1777, should prove to have been issued in 1717, or at least before 1758, when Linnaeus published his famous *Systema naturae*. (Zingg)

⁴⁷ "S. Wendeborn, D. G. F. U.: *Vorlesung uber die Geschichte des Menschen*, new ed. by C. D. Ebeling, Hamburg, 1815, pp. 154-5 refers to the unavailable *Memoires sue les Travaux qui ont rapport à l'exploitation de la nature dans les Pyrénées*. Par Le Roy. Paris, 1777, 4°. The *Biographie universelle* Vol. 24, 1819, p. 247 ascribes this work to Jean Davis Leroy, member of the Academie des Inscriptions, 'in 4° 1773, reprinted in 1776 in 4°.' However Queard says in his *France Littéraire* Vol. 5, 1833, p. 216 or 219 that the author is not Julien Davis Leroy, but Leroy, engineer of ports and arsenals of the navy." (Tafel)

Alleged Wild-man from Trebizond

Tafel⁴⁸ gives us material on another possible case of feral man of 1813 for which there is inadequate data. To keep the materials complete this will be quoted here from its original source⁴⁹ as given by Tafel:

. . . We entered the harbor of Trebizond . . . Our attention was in particular attracted by a poor wretch seated in the middle of the market on an old and dirty piece of felt; from long exposure to the inclemency of the weather, his body was covered with hair,⁵⁰ his voice resembled the howlings of a dog, and he was said to devour more than eight moderate persons could consume. He had not moved from the spot for many years, and was treated with respect by the Turks (Turks regard fools as the favorites of heaven), who seldom or never passed him without giving him alms. We were informed that he had been found wild in the woods, and I remembered a similar circumstance of a woman having been discovered in the woods near Smyrna, who could neither walk nor speak, and, like a beast, was entirely covered with hair.

⁴⁸ Tafel: *Fundamentalphilosophie* Vol. I, pp. 125-6.

⁴⁹ Kinneir, John Macdonald, Captain in the service of the Honorable East India Company; Town Major of Fort St. George; and political Agent at the Durbar of His Highness the Nabob of Carnatic: *Journey through Asia Minor, and Koordistan in the years 1813 and 1814*. London 1818. (Tafel)

⁵⁰ Another of the few hairy cases, this one highly dubious. (Zingg)

CHAPTER IV

Cases of Feral Man without Animal Nurture, and Similar Cases of Isolation of Children by Cruel or Insane Guardians

THE second class of feral man is that of children old enough to walk, who have been abandoned or wandered away into the wilds to survive by their own efforts unaided by human contact. Similar cases of isolation, those of children shut away by cruel or insane guardians furnish a commoner case, reported in the press from time to time (two recent such cases are summarized p. 248 fn. 21, as well as the classical case of Kaspar Hauser). All these cases show effects of isolation, less severe than those of animal-nurtured children. This is apparently due to having little to unlearn in addition to the much there is to learn after reintroduction to human society. The degree of recovery reported for these cases varies from no more than that reported for animal-nurtured children, to a degree of recovery practically complete.

Against the argument of congenital idiocy advanced to account for the cases of both sorts that do not recover beyond idiocy, Rauber argues persuasively for the addition of a new form of the definitely known forms of acquired idiocy. This he calls *dementia ex separatione*.

In making conclusions on the Kronstadt case which is quoted from him below, (see p. 237 ff.), Rauber says:

And judging this case, it is necessary for the decision of the observer to consider that this puzzling person was able for many years to keep alive in the wilderness through his own capacity. The mental qualities necessary to perform this feat do not quite correspond with the many characteristics of stupidity, reported in this account. Yet we do not want to quarrel with these people who see in this case an idiotic creature; but are very willing to admit a certain form of idiocy. Only again the question arises, was this an inborn quality or was it acquired later in the wilderness through lack of human association? To the definite known forms of acquired idiocy, one would have to add a new one, the *dementia ex separatione*, if this were the case. It would not be possible to consider such creatures, isolated

and grown up in the wilderness, as being able to be civilized at any time of their lives. If in their mental condition they are already static, which happens with some earlier than with others, then it will be forever impossible that after their capture they will develop their mental capacities, even under the most rational educational conditions. If with human beings adequate influences do not operate in their youth then we should not wonder when in such cases degenerating results appear in the brain. In stronger and less sensitive individuals the pathological influence on the brain structure and brain growth can be much smaller or be completely lacking. *We must not forget that the human child learns more during the first two years of his life under the influence of his living surroundings than in all the entire period afterwards.* The period of learning the foundations is therefore a very short one. The child has even begun to learn the language at this age. *If these influences fail, let us say until the fourth, sixth, or tenth year, how would it be possible that this could be without influence in the normal development of the brain?* Every organ needs also here the necessary stimulants in order to remain active or to develop to its highest. The same is the case when the normal influences of the surroundings are present in the first years, but suddenly are withdrawn. The later this withdrawal happens, the more chances there are that the healthy mental condition continues; the earlier these influences are taken away so much more dangerous must be the results. We have occasion to make such observations even on animals of the higher species. I do not only refer to these observations which show the results of an early isolation from the natural surroundings, but to these experiences which everyone possesses. Young animals of the proper kinds are capable of learning and susceptible to the influence of training by man; on the contrary, older ones are incapable of doing what is asked of them. And to a certain degree, is this not also the case with the older of civilized men? It is an old proverb: "What little Hans doesn't learn, Hans never learns."

When we observe that during isolation more or less old persons are not any more susceptible to the influence of civilization, which work on them after their return into society; who would call this strange, even if they are no longer able to learn completely or partially? Therefore we should not wonder if from the influences of isolation, there develops a form of idiocy. It is of no interest for the case itself if this applies to the above-mentioned story.

After these conclusions of Rauber's as an introduction for this chapter, let us turn to the cases of this sort which he cites in the same work (*Homo Sapiens Ferus* Leipzig, 1888).

Case XXX. The Girl of Cranenburg (*Puella transisilana* Linn.)

Regarding this case the *Breslauer Sammlungen*¹ of January, 1718, gives the following report from Zwoll (*Schwoll*) in Ober Ysel² for January 15, 1718: "A girl of eighteen years has been brought here a few days ago, who had been caught on a mountain near Cranenburg. She could rightly be considered a wild girl. The peasants around there had known of her for some time, but had not been able to catch her. Finally a thousand set out with ropes and nets and trapped her. She was almost naked, having on only a little apron made from a little straw. Her skin was very rough, as well as black and hard. Up to then she had lived on herbs and tree leaves, and also on the milk, which the peasants had taken to the mountain in effort to catch her. Though she talks, she stammers and no one knows what it means. She is lodged with a certain woman who says that she is very quiet and still."

Later the whole story has been told from the Hague in the following way: "Finally, the following report has been received about the young girl who, in August, 1717, had been caught in the forest of Cranenburg. This child had been kidnaped on the fifth of May, 1700, when it was only sixteen months old. Thereupon a warning had been published in the Antwerp newspapers of May 14th of the same year, in which it was asked that anyone who might find her would please keep her and inform the editor of the papers. For a long time, no one heard again of this child, until January, 1718, when the Dutch newspapers announced that a young girl about eighteen years of age had been found in the forest of Cranenburg. It was reported that she was completely naked, and wild-looking; she was unable to speak and had been living on grass, leaves, etc.

"It was also reported that the mother of the lost child had been found, and that the indicated age of the wild child when found corresponded to that of her daughter. It was thus indicated that the people who had kidnaped her might have died before she had grown up and reached the age of reason.

"Therefore, the mother inquired in Zwolle to where the girl had been brought and was in charge of the magistrate; and because of certain marks, the mother recognized that this girl was her lost child."

The newspapers continue that: "At the beginning of this month (January, 1718), the mother had sought her daughter in Zwolle, having come from Antwerp. Recognizing her, she took her to Amsterdam and will

¹ *Sammlung von Natur und Medizin, wie auch hier zu gehörigen Kunst und Literatur-Geschichte so sich in Schlesien und andern Landern begeben. Von einigen Breslawischen Medicis.* Winter, 1718, p. 548 ff. (Raubert)

² The present Zwolle in the Province of Overijssel in the Netherlands. (Henri Folmer)

return to Antwerp very much pleased that she had recovered her daughter after such a long time."

The *Breslauer Sammlung* (p. 440) of October 1722, tells, among other things about this case, the following: "The mother left Antwerp, and reached Zwolle after a short time. She went to a friend who ordered the wild girl to come and see her mother, accompanied by the woman who cared for her. After the mother saw the child she swooned and had to be revived. After she recovered, she said, 'This is my child.' At the same time, great astonishment was shown by the wild girl, who ran to the mother with a happy face. A few drops of blood fell from her nose on to her hand. Also she paid no attention to the woman who had cared for her such a long time.

"(p. 442) She was very monstrous in looks and had long, thick hair on her head, like a bundle of straw, so that one could see that it had never been combed. This girl had hard, brown skin. Some time after her capture, this skin fell off³ and she grew a new one. She wore an apron made of straw.

"When her hair was cut off she looked so differently that, when she came to Amsterdam, many persons who had seen her at her capture in Zwolle said that she was not the same girl.

"No one has ever heard her talk, and one can understand from her fear of people that she must have been very young when she was kidnapped. It is not known where the woman who took the girl has gone to. It is to be desired that the girl might learn to speak, so that the whole story of her strange adventure might be known. Up to now, it is not known whether she heard well or not.

"She has no desire anymore to live in the wilderness. This was shown before her departure from Zwolle, when her mother took her to the place where she had been taken prisoner. The people left as if to make believe that she was to be abandoned there. When she discovered this, she became very sad; and, when the mother gave her a signal, the girl came right to her. When the mother returned to Holland⁴ and came to a crossroad, the girl halted. It was arranged that she was to be two-hundred paces in front of the others. She followed a person from the company who showed her the right direction.

"(p. 444) It is very interesting to notice that the wild girl is very kind and good-natured and liked to laugh. Since her arrival in Antwerp she has changed so greatly, that, when placed in the company of several women, it is not possible to see any difference except that she does not

³ Fabulous, unless it means, as in the case of Kaspar Hauser, upon bathing the dirt came off like a skin. (Zingg)

⁴ Here Holland means the province or State of Holland, a part of the Seven United Provinces, which made up the Netherlands in the seventeenth century. (Henri Folmer)

talk. She greets the person who greets her; she has been taught how to spin, which she does very well. It is also noticed that she is beginning to talk."

About this case Blumenbach⁵ remarks: "Regarding the *Puella transilana* (*Breslauer Sammlungen* XXII, vers. p. 437) that she was about eighteen years old when she was caught in the winter of 1717 with nets by a thousand peasants of Cranenburg in a special hunt ordered to catch her. Except for a woven straw apron she was said to have been entirely naked with a skin hard and black, which peeled off some time after her capture when a pretty new skin appeared (I stay always close to the reports of witnesses). Besides, this wild woman was said to have been a good-natured and laughing kind of person, and to have been kidnaped from her parents as a small child in May, 1700." (The names of the parents, and date of death of mother follow. Zingg)

One must confess that the reports from the *Breslauer Sammlungen*, in spite of their detail, are of an insufficient nature and do not mention a number of important circumstances which could have easily been examined. Even if the known facts about this case are nothing but discouraging, we feel, nevertheless, that this case should be included in our work. It is not without interest because it gives a comparison with the other cases.

It must be added that, surprisingly, the feminine sex is rarely represented in these cases of feral children.⁶

Tafel⁷ gives the identical data in his book, which apparently Rauber did not see, or he would have quoted Tafel's conclusions which are in agreement with his, and also the circumstances of the kidnaping. Tafel writes:⁸

Thus it is clear that as soon as the girl came under human influence she lost her wildness. So there is no reason to hold that she was an idiot, and to say that it was on that account that her parents had abandoned her. On the contrary, the person who kidnaped her is exactly described in the "Advertisement" of May 5, 1700, printed on p. 438 (of the *Bresl. Samm.*), in the following words:

"The reason why the woman kidnaped the child, there was a certain merchant in Amsterdam, who had begun a carnal affair with a woman.

⁵ Joh. Fr. Blumenbach: "Regarding Homo sapiens *ferus*" (Linn.), pp. 37-38. (Rauber)

⁶ Tylor: "Wild Men and Beast-Children," p. 29 follows Blumenbach instead of having gone to the primary sources in saying: "As for the other stories of wild children, they are scarcely worth mentioning. The girl caught living wild in Holland (of all places in the world), in 1717 who fed on grass and leaves and made herself a girdle of straw." (Zingg)

⁷ Tafel: *Fundamentalphilosophie*, pp. 70-74. (Zingg)

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

When she found herself pregnant . . . he sent her to Antwerp to relatives where she bore the child which soon died. Then later this merchant became ill, and as his doctor doubted his recovery, he confessed to him and wrote the woman in Antwerp, that she should bring the child, as he had willed it 5000 dollars. Now the woman would like to have had this money, so she had the cunning to take the child of the others which she took to Amsterdam and got the money. Where she went to later, or where she left the child, no one has been able to find out."

The two following cases are among the best that we have for their detail regarding two boys who appear to have lived alone in the forests after having become separated from their parents and yet surviving by means of tooth and nail. Neither of the boys recovered much of human personality or faculties after having been rescued after puberty (the wild boy of Kronstadt) or even at twelve or thirteen (the wild boy of Aveyron). Rauber gives the following data:⁹

Case XXXI. The Wild-boy of Kronstadt

Michael Wagner in his *Beiträge zur philosophischen Anthropologie* (Vol. I 1794, p. 251) gives the following, about this case from manuscripts from Transylvania (Siebenbürgen):

"Here you have information about the wild boy who was found a few years ago in the Siebenbürgen-Wallachischen border¹⁰ and was brought to Kronstadt, where in 1784 he is still alive. How the poor boy was saved from the forests, whether he left his parents in his childhood, or had been born of an unfortunate mother in these same woods, about these things I cannot tell. However one must preserve the facts, as they are, in the sad gallery of pictures of this kind.

"This unfortunate youth was of the male sex and was of medium size. He had an extremely wild glance. His eyes lay deep in his head, and rolled around in a wild fashion. His forehead was strongly bent inwards, and his hair of ash-gray color grew out short and rough. He had heavy brown eyebrows, which projected out far over his eyes, and a small flat-pressed nose. His neck appeared puffy, and at the windpipe he appeared goitrous. His mouth stood somewhat out when he held it half open as he generally did since he breathed through his mouth. His tongue was almost motionless, and his cheeks appeared more hollow than full, and, like his face, were covered with a dirty yellowish skin. On the first glance at this face, from which a wildness and a sort of animal-being shone

⁹ A. Rauber: *Homo Sapiens Ferus*, pp. 49-55.

¹⁰ This is the border between the provinces of Transylvania and Wallachia, now in Roumania. (Zingg)

forth, one felt that it belonged to no rational creature, which presents new evidence for the observation that the special stamp which reason imprints on the human form is more or less missed by those who are not able to use reason in a higher or lower degree. This is also in evidence in insane asylums. The other parts of the wild boy's body, especially the back and the chest were very hairy;¹¹ the muscles on his arms and legs were stronger and more visible than on ordinary people. The hands were marked with callouses (which supposedly were caused by different uses), and the skin of the hands was dirty yellow and thick throughout, as his face was. On the finger he had very long nails; and, on the elbows and knees, he had knobby hardenings. The toes were longer than ordinary. He walked erect, but a little heavily. It seemed as if he would throw himself from one foot to the other. He carried his head and chest forward, which (as I suppose) is to be explained because in the woods he went on all fours. He walked bare-footed and did not like shoes on his feet. He was completely lacking in speech, even in the slightest articulations of sounds. The sounds which he uttered were ununderstandable murmuring, which he would give when his guard drove him ahead of him. This murmuring was increased to a howling when he saw woods or even a tree. He seemed to express the wish for his accustomed abode; for once when he was in my room from which a mountain could be seen, the sight of the trees caused him to howl wretchedly.¹² One found in him only a few traces of reason. He didn't pay attention to anything. Show him what you would and he gave the same indifferent glance. Neither a human word, or any kind of a sound or gesture, was intelligible to him. One could laugh or simulate rage without his showing any understanding or awareness that was shown by some of the other wild persons which have been found, especially the girl of whom Condamine reports in his *Histoire d'une jeune fille sauvage*. Even the obvious interest of other feral men or even of small children toward sensory things was not apparent in him. When I saw him the first time, he had no sense of possession. Probably it was his complete unfamiliarity with his new condition, and the longing for his earlier life in the wilds, which he displayed when he saw a garden or a wood. Similarly I explain why, at the beginning, he showed not the slightest emotion at the sight of women.¹³ When I saw him again after three years this apathy and disrespect had disappeared. As soon as he saw

¹¹ Another case of hairy feral man. (Zingg)

¹² The wild-boy of Aveyron was restless before distant scenes. See p. 244, at fn. 18. (Zingg)

¹³ In this respect is it surprising that he showed no adjustment? But how could this wild-boy of Kronstadt, like Wild Peter of Hameln, know anything about women. They only saw in a woman nothing else but a human being dressed in clothes different from those of a man. This question of their interest in women could only be solved if they had seen and been in communication with human females freed of their cultural accouterments. The following proves this observation. (M. Wagner)

a woman, he broke out into violent cries of joy, and tried to express his awakened desires also through gestures.¹⁴ When I first saw him he had as little attraction for anything, as he had dislike against anything, except for those emotions which he always had. At no occasion which caused fear to other people, did he show any realization of danger. He only showed aversion when he had received an unpleasant impression, which he showed against the cause of the unpleasantness. One could make him run away by showing him a needle with which he had once been pricked; but a naked sword held to his breast or over his head did not cause him the slightest fear. Otherwise I did not notice any fear of men, which one generally notices with persons of his type. At the view of several people, he remained just as uninterested as if he was alone. No tone of a musical instrument touched him, only the beating of a drum seemed to frighten him. This caused him to try and escape. He did not show any passions except his longing for his abode, and this was gradually diminished through custom. Yet he showed anger and unwillingness when he was hungry and thirsty; and in that case would have very much liked to attack man, though on other occasions he would do no harm to men or animals. Aside from the original human body which usually causes a pitiful impression in this state of wildness, and aside from walking erect, one missed in him all the characteristic traits through which human beings are distinguished from the animals; it was rather a much more pitiful sight to see how this helpless creature would waddle around in front of his keeper growling and glaring wildly, and longing for the presence of animals of prey, insensible to everything which appeared before him. In order to control this wild urge, as soon as he came near to the gates of the city, and approached the gardens and woods, they used to tie him up in the beginning. He had to be accompanied by several persons, because he would have forced himself free and would have run away to his former dwelling. In the beginning his food consisted only of all kinds of tree leaves, grass, roots, and raw meat. Only very slowly did he accustom himself to cooked food; and, according to the saying of the person who took care of him, a whole year passed before he learned to eat cooked food; when very obviously his animal wildness diminished.

"I am unable to say how old he was. Outwardly he could have been from twenty-three to twenty-five years old. Probably he will never learn how to speak. When I saw him again after three years, I still found him speechless, though changed very obviously in many other respects. His face still expressed something animal-like but had become softer. His looks had lost their former wildness; his walk was surer and more orderly. The desire for food, of which he now liked all kinds, (particularly

¹⁴ If this refers to sexual behavior, as seems likely, it is the only account we have of it among mature feral cases of either sex. See p. 187, fn. 18. (Zingg)

legumes) he would show by intelligible sounds. He showed his visible contentment when one brought him something to eat, and sometimes he would use a spoon. He had gotten used to wear shoes and other clothes; but he was careless about how much they were torn. Slowly he was able to find a way to his house without a leader; the only work for which he could be used consisted of giving him a water jug which he would fill at the well and bring it to the house. This was the only service which he could perform for his guardian. He also knew how to provide himself with food by diligently visiting the houses where people had given him food. The instinct of imitation was shown on many occasions; but nothing made a permanent impression on him. Even if he imitated a thing several times, he soon forgot it again, except the custom which had to do with his natural needs, such as eating, drinking, sleeping, etc., and everything which had connection with these. He found his home in the evening, and at noon, the house where he expected food, led only by his habits. He never learned to know the value of money. He did accept it but only with the intention of playing with it, and did not care when he lost it again. Chiefly he was in every respect like a child whose capacities had begun to develop, only with this difference that he was unable to speak and could not make any progress in that regard. He showed his likeness with a child in the fact that he would gape at everything which one showed to him; but, with the same lack of concentration, he would change his glance from the old objects to new ones. If one showed him a mirror he would look behind it for the image before him. But he was completely indifferent when he did not find it, and would allow the mirror to get out of his range of vision. The tunes from musical instruments seemed to interest him a little, but it was a very slight interest which did not leave any impression. When I led him in front of the piano in my room, he listened to the tunes with an apparent pleasure, but did not dare to touch the keys. He showed great fear when I tried to force him to do so. Since 1784, the year he left Kronstadt, I never had a chance to receive any more reports about him."

As far as any conclusion is concerned, we see from the above description that the observer does not wish to give the impression that his object was a natural idiot; but a creature which had been mentally retarded. Wagner draws the attention to the bodily defects in particular: bent-in forehead, the goitrous quality of his neck, the great immobility of his tongue. However, this explanation is made in such an incomplete manner in regard to the real facts that not much can be done with it. We know as little about the character of the brain in this as in other cases. Even regarding the proportion of the skull, nothing reliable is known, and we can only guess that aside from the bent-in forehead, outstanding peculiarities were not present.

Case XXXII. The Wild-boy of Aveyron¹⁵

It is useful, in view of the discussion of the last case (the wild-boy of Kronstadt), for us to turn to the consideration of this one. The subject of this account is a boy captured in the woods of the Department of Aveyron.¹⁶

¹⁵ August Rauber: *Homo Sapiens Ferus*, pp. 55-63. The primary sources on this case are: "P. J. Virey, Dissertation sur un jeune enfant, trouvé dans les forêts du département de l'Aveyron, comparé eux sauvages trouvés dans l'Europe en diverses époques, avec de remarques sur l'état primitif de l'Homme." (Given in Tafel: *Fundamentalphilosophie*, p. 132.—Zingg.)

"The same case is treated by the same author in: *Historie naturelle de genre humain*. Pt. II and IX pp. 289-350.

"*Nouveau Dictionnaire d'histoire naturelle*. Pt. XI. Paris, 1803, and in Vol. XV. of 1818.

"E. Itard, 'D l'éducation d'un homme sauvage, ou des premiers développements physiques et moraux du jeune sauvage de l'Aveyron.' Paris, 1801. 8.

(Continuing in) 'Rapports sur les nouveaux développements et l'état actuel du sauvage de l'Aveyron.' Paris, 1807. 8." These sources are given by Rauber: *Homo Sapiens Ferus*, p. 55.

The latter sources by Itard have been translated into English by George and Muriel Humphrey: Jean-Marc-Gaspard Itard: *The Wild Boy of Aveyron*. The Century Co. New York: London, 1932. (Zingg)

¹⁶ The boy of Aveyron is thus described by Virey in the above-mentioned *Dictionnaire d'histoire naturelle du genre humain*, 1803, Vol. XI, p. 329-331, with the following words: "The last example is the one of the young boy of Aveyron, who lives in Paris in the house for the Deaf and Dumb under the direction of the famous Prof. Sicard M. Bonnaterra who has given an interesting historical notice on the subject; and I have published a dissertation at the end of my *Hist. nat. de genre humain* (t. 2, p. 289 et seq.). Three and a half years before the year 1798, a naked child was seen, who ran away from human beings and who roamed through the woods of Caunes, in the Department of Tarn. He was seen searching for roots and acorns for food. He was caught, but escaped afterwards. In 1798 fifteen months later he was again caught by three hunters in spite of climbing up a tree. He was brought to Caunes. He escaped again, lived like a vagabond for six months exposed to the cold of the coldest of winters. One winter day, he entered the house outside the city of Saint-Sernin, wearing only the remains of a shirt. They gave him potatoes, which he ate raw" (the dissertation says 'half-cooked in the fire'—Raub.) "as well as chestnuts and acorns; he refused any other food such as cooked or raw meat, bread, apples, pears, grapes, nuts, oranges, which he would smell before tasting. He did not speak any language, uttered inarticulate cries. It was believed that he was dumb. He looked frightened and did nothing but eat and run away into the woods. He hardly suffered clothes, and did not want to sleep in a bed. But wherever he was, he would answer the calls of nature, and had no idea of modesty, or of anything else that distinguishes a civilized man.

"This young boy was about 11 or 12 years old when I saw him for the first time in Paris; he was pretty well built, and strong for his age. His new way of living had made him gain a great deal in weight; and caused him to run much more slowly. Nevertheless he still ran very fast. He walked straight, balancing himself well, sitting most of the time on his heels, eating continuously, and liking to go to sleep afterwards. His skin, brown and dirty when he was caught became white when he was washed. He had very long nails and his blond hair almost covered the entire face. Upon coming to Paris, he became ill from an attack of smallpox, which was mild and passed without ill-effects, in spite of his refusal to

The impression that this boy made on the mass of his observers was that some thought him a little swindler, others declared him an idiot, others a wild man. According to the careful observations of Virey, there was no certain sign of idiocy,¹⁷ while that he was simulating is not to be considered at all. Externally the 11-12-year-old boy was not different from another child of his age; it is much more only the psychic qualities, which stamp him a special phenomenon.

On the 19 Thermidor of the year 8 of the Republic at 3:30 in the afternoon someone observed in the woods of Caunes, which is called Bassine (Dept. of Tarn), a completely naked child, who ran away at the approach of people. They watched him and saw that he was seeking acorns and roots to eat them. They caught him, but he got away again. Fifteen months later, someone saw his tracks again. He climbed a tree but this refuge did not save him from the hunters. They captured him and took him to

eat anything during the whole period of his illness. He seemed sometimes to suffer from spasmodic fits as if he had been frightened. The boy's gums were almost laid bare, and he had become very fat because he had become very careless, thinking only of eating and sleeping; but when he was caught he was very thin. All his movements were brusque, but sure. He did not know how to swim, and usually did not climb up trees, unless when forced by danger. He has been seen jumping from the second floor to run away in the woods. His hands were not at all calloused or hard, but he had large nails and his fingers were of amazing flexibility. He did not feel at all extremes of heat and cold. His skin had several scars and even some burns. When he was sweating he covered his skin with dust because he did not like the moisture. He did not know modesty; and was not pubescent. Though he liked to sleep often, his sleep was never very sound; while sleeping, he rolled himself into a ball and rocked himself to sleep. He hated children of his age, but he was not mean and never dreamed of doing any harm, because he did not pay the slightest attention to the world. He was like an innocent, idiotic person; but he should not be called an imbecile. His character was very sweet, but he did not like to be contradicted. His mind was open and crude, according to our ideas. He was egotistical but simple and of limited mind (borné).

"This wild boy was always alert and seemed to be embarrassed by the presence of human beings; he liked solitude very much . . . He did not know how to throw stones and without being a coward, he did not show any superior courage to anyone else of his age. When he felt any emotion, he made noisy cries or growls in his throat. When he was caught he showed some natural expressions of passion. He was not deaf, but his lack of interest and his ignorance of our language caused him to pay no attention. Today he begins to understand several things, and even to talk a little.

"The young boy of Aveyron smelled all the food which was offered to him and I have seen him refuse several fruits which are found in the woods like: pears, apples, grapes, cherries. He preferred fruits to meat and bread. He refused (*rejetait* also means vomit) all cooked meats, as well as sugar and salt. He was very much inclined to steal fruit and other foods, but not valuable objects, because he did not care for them. In conclusion, all his emotions, his entire mind was concentrated only on his natural needs, eating, drinking, sleeping, and survival. He only thought of himself and only lived for himself, being a perfect egotist." (Raubert)

¹⁷ Pinel, an outstanding psychologist of the day, "examined the boy, declaring that his wildness was a fake, and that he was an incurable idiot. In one of his standard works, indeed, this authority later speaks of the 'pretended Wild Boy of Aveyron' . . ." His report is not available today. J. Itard: *The Wild Boy of Aveyron*, p. VII (1932). (Zingg)

Caunes. He was given to a widow *en pension*, but disappeared after eight days and went wandering in the mountains and in the villages. So he lived a vagabond life again for six months, exposed to the cold of one of the coldest winters.



The Wild-boy of Aveyron
Permission Prof. Geo. Humphrey

When the season became milder, on 19 Nivose of the year 8, about seven o'clock in the morning he entered the house of a dyer outside of the town of St. Sernin, dressed in the last remains of a shirt which he had received six months before in Caunes . . . The Intendent of that place reports of him that he warmed himself with pleasure, showed a restless behavior, did not answer any questions, neither by voice nor by signs. But repeated caressing made him more trusting. He was given potatoes which he threw into the fire to cook them. Raw or cooked meat, bread, cheese, apples, peas, grapes, nuts, chestnuts, acorns, parsnips, and oranges which one offered him, he smelled but did not take. The half-cooked potatoes he ate while he thrust wine aside.

On the 20 Nivose, he was brought to the *Hospiz St. Afrique*. Guiraud here found him to be dumb. Fourteen days later his tongue seemed to be loosened a little for he was able to shriek. He would not suffer clothing, taking it away by tearing it. In the beginning he did not like to sleep in a bed, but by and by, he became accustomed to it. At that time he subsisted only on raw potatoes, nuts, chestnuts, but was slowly accustomed to soup and dark bread. Repeatedly he made efforts to escape.

On the 15 Pluviose, he was brought to Rhodes, to the naturalist Bonnaterre. The Minister of Interior later caused him to be brought to Paris. Bonnaterre mentions a rumor, according to which the boy was the son of a certain M—— and his wife X—— ; but was put out in his sixth year, because he could not talk. But this is only a conjecture.

In Rhodes his physical development made good progress. He grew considerably and his body strengthened.

When he had a strong urge to eat, to escape or to sleep he developed vitality, manifested impatience, quickness, and rage. If one denies him, he becomes angry, throws himself about, stamps his feet, shakes his head, bites, pinches, scratches, cries, and yells. His glance is restless and fixed on nothing except his food and the objects of his affection or disgust. Those who bring him food, he distinguishes very well from the rest. His very movements are quick and certain. He keeps his bed very clean. In urinating he bends down, but stands erect in emptying his bowels. He flees from children and hates them. He is lacking in shame. When he is afraid of something he throws himself in the arms of his guard, drives him toward his room to lock himself in. A barking dog does not frighten him, but he guards himself. What he carries in his hands, he holds securely.

At the sight of woods he expresses lively signs of joy, longing and grief.¹⁸ Fire gives him pleasure and he is happy to warm himself at it, even though it is not cold.

His tongue is well formed; but speech is lacking except for inarticulated sounds. But only seldom does he utter such sounds, except when he is excited when they are loud and noisy especially in rage or displeasure. In joy he laughs aloud and in a contended mood he likes to murmur. His natural behavior is very limited, but is pronounced in passion. Of conventional behavior, he had learned some since his capture. His natural sounds cause the supposition that he is not really dumb, even though all dumb-people are able to produce some shrieks. His hearing is very sharp; he hears if a nut is cracked behind him, when a dog which he does not see begins to bark; when, in darkness, a door is opened. But if one talks or yells, sings or makes music, speaks to him or whispers in his ear he

¹⁸ See p. 238 at fn. 12. (Zingg)

does not pay attention, is not astonished, especially when he is occupied with his food. The only thing which tames him is plenty of food. Of the food, he takes only that which is agreeable to his smell. His taste also seems to be sensitive, due to the connections between the sense of smell and the sense of taste.

He is very skillful in digging out potatoes or roots from the ground, using his nails for this. Beans (*puff-bohnen*), cabbage, peas, chestnuts, hazelnuts, beechnuts, acorns, turnips, potatoes, etc. agree with him, cereals not especially. Also someone saw him eating a fresh squirrel. He does not like white bread, but has become accustomed to black bread, and used to eat about 2½ pounds daily, without counting the other things. He dislikes apples, pears, cherries, and other fruits; perhaps because he does not know them and had not found them in the woods. Also he does not take sugar or sugared foods; nor spiced things. To open nuts, his teeth originally served, and later, after he had learned from his surroundings, he used stones.

While before he was accustomed to eat everything raw, he now prefers to eat cooked potatoes. Cooked meat he is able to eat in small amounts without salt or spice; but he prefers his usual fruit and vegetables. His customary drink is water in large amounts. Earlier he lowered his mouth to rivers and springs, he lately has learned the use of receptacles. Wine, beer, and brandy, etc., he continually refuses, finding them very bad. He is a little accustomed to milk, which he refused in the beginning. If he eats things which agree with his taste, he rocks himself from one side to the other, utters a continuous murmur, which expresses his content. It is a pleasure to watch him carry peas or other small vegetables to his mouth with his little fingers, (for he doesn't use any spoon for it); he shows such a skill that he never lets a little part fall from his fingers. He does not chew long, since he is eager and impatient if he seeks some food. He is more concerned about the amount than about the quality. If one gives him more than he is able to eat, he gathers it to save and hide it without ever forgetting it the next day. So he seems to have a concern for his future wants.

He has no respect for the portion of his neighbor, has no idea of ownership other than to have everything for himself. So he is very apt to steal and very skilled in it, due to his concern only for himself. He does not know the worth of jewels, money, or gold (which is very obvious, though perhaps he could have been taught it.—Rauben). Thankfulness toward the one who feeds him is strange to him, and it seems as if he would believe that the person who gives him something would not know anything else to do with it, rather than that they owe it to him to give him food. He willingly allows that someone prepares and peels his food, but he is not grateful for it, but rather indifferent. His only interests are eating,

drinking, sleeping, maintaining himself, the wish to be free. Things related to this occupy his whole nature. He is a pure egotist. Never does one observe in him a sign of human sympathy.

A remark by Virey in his *Nouveau Dictionnaire d'histoire naturelle*, ed. 1803, (Vol. XI p. 331) adds: "He was not deaf, but his lack of attention and lack of understanding of our language caused a complete disconcert. Just now he begins to understand and to talk a little."

In the same *Dictionnaire* of 1817, however (Vol. XV p. 269) Virey says: "Today he understands several things but without articulating the words . . . Today this individual is still frightened, half-savage and has not been able to learn how to talk, in spite of the efforts which have been made." We conclude that the boy of Aveyron, if he learned to speak anything at all, remained as a beginner.

The following notice by Dr. J. Larrey,¹⁹ Chief Surgeon of the Hospital of the Royal Guard, offers a certain interest. Larrey, in the summer of 1812, saw in Vilna the skeleton of a dwarf who was hairy over the entire body, and who was seen at different times in the woods of Lithuania, dressed in untanned animal skins and living off meat and wild fruits. He believed that he saw in this skeleton a similarity with that of an Orang Utan. And the skull seemed in some aspects to be similar to the head of the wild boy of Aveyron, whom he had seen in Paris at the home of Dr. Itard. The corresponding passage is the following: "One also sees in this cabinet, the skeleton of a dwarf, whose birth has been unknown, and who was met several times in the forest of Lithuania, dressed in untanned animal skins. His body was covered with hair. He rarely came near houses; he nourished himself with the meat of animals and with wild fruits, of which he made provision in the favorable seasons. These are only details which we have been able to collect from the life of this man, whose skull seemed to have much likeness to the skull of the wild man of Aveyron which I saw at Dr. Itard's on my return from Egypt. The skeleton of the wild man of Lithuania has much analogy with that of an Orang Utan. The skull is very small, compared with one of persons of the same size and age. The frontal is almost non-existent, the occiput is very much developed, and forms a very strong projection at the occipital protuberance. The two jaw-bones are very projecting at the dental arcades; the incisors and canines of a remarkable whiteness are almost conical, sharp and longer than in ordinary cases. The upper members are longer than with a well-built man; the lower limbs are very short in proportion and the calcaneums are elongated backwards."

The Lithuanian dwarf, the skeleton of which Larrey here speaks is another individual than the Lithuanian wild boys, of which we spoke earlier

¹⁹ *Memoire de Chirurgie militaire et Campagnes de Baron J. Larrey*. Vol. IV, Paris, 1817, p. 17. (Raubert)

(p. 195, fn. 25); and should not be confused with the last. The skull of this dwarf, according to Larrey's description, apparently has some similarity with certain skull forms of idiots, to what degree is not to be recognized from the slight remarks of Larrey. Thus it must remain without further discussion, whether there is to be any importance attached to Larrey's further note that the head of the boy of Aveyron has similarities to that of the dwarf of Vilna. It is striking that Virey, who had a very good opportunity to observe the boy for years says nothing about any such striking abnormality in the form of the head. On the contrary he expressly reports that the wild boy is not to be superficially distinguished from others of his age.

For the rest it is to be regretted that nothing is known about the later life of the wild boy of Aveyron.²⁰ For this reason we do not know anything certain or exact either about measurements of his skull or the condition of his brain. But this should not hinder us in evaluating the data of Virey which relate the appearance in life of this boy. From these we can be sure that the boy was able to make his living by himself in the wilderness, satisfying his wants, and to guard himself from the dangers of the wilds. An innate idiot lacks this power and would have died if left to himself in the woods. This should incline us against judging the wild boy of Aveyron as a natural idiot.

Rauber continues his conclusions on this case as follows:

Even if we should be in error in this, even if this case like the previous case from Kronstadt would have to be considered as natural idiocy, so the difficulty of distinguishing certain forms of natural idiocy from the consequences of Isolation shows exactly the points, the observation of which is important. These distinguishing points are: The inherited qualities of the mind of man and their organs under the influence of long-continued isolation either remain intact and able to develop, or they lose their ability to develop and undergo a more or less far-reaching immobility, a more or less striking inflexibility, a lighter-or deeper-reaching brutalization.

As an example of the first sort, we have among others the girl of Songi; as examples of the second sort the boys of Lithuania. The rest of the before-described cases lean more toward one or the other of the two

²⁰ Itard: *The Wild Boy of Aveyron*. Century Co., 1932, p. XVIII. Introduction by George Humphrey, before quoted, says about the later life of the wild boy: "In spite of five years' genious tutelage, the boy never became a normal human being.

"The Wild Boy died at about forty years of age in 1828. Ten years later his kind-hearted preceptor, Itard, Member of the Academy of Medicine, passed away, leaving a high and still-lasting reputation for his fundamental work on the education of the deaf-mute, and on the diseases of the ear, and, not least, for his stout-hearted championship of the Savage of Aveyron." (Zingg)

extremes. Finally, part of them leave us in doubt, whether or not they are cases of natural idiocy in small degree.

Psychiatrists have not yet concerned themselves with these cases; but we don't doubt that this will happen in the future. Although they will complain about the insufficiency of observation of many cases, they will have to admit a *dementia ex separationone* in the sense, as I have developed it here. (See this work p. 232 ff.).

The picture which the Isolated give us, shows a certain many-sidedness of appearance, and gives a certain latitude in which the single cases can vary. This is of course, connected with individual differences in sensitivity as well as with the time, degree, and the period of beginning of the Isolation. . . .

In his conclusions to these cases, we see that Rauber has set up the concept of idiocy *dementia ex separationone* varying between two poles, one from which recovery is not made and another from which some or a great deal of recovery is made. Of the first sort he cites the wild-boys of Kronstadt and Aveyron and the earlier bear-children of Lithuania of which we have the best data, though the bear-children of Lithuania leave out much data to be desired. These are instances of children who through greater sensitivity were unable to recover from extreme isolation, or one might add who may have failed because of too long a period of separation.

More recent cases of isolation of individuals, analogous to feral man, offer far better data than the ancient bear-children of Lithuania, or even the wild-boy of Aveyron, to bear out Rauber's concept of *dementia ex separationone* as varying between little or no recovery at the one pole to considerable or practically complete recovery at the other, depending both upon degree of isolation and upon quality or fiber of the neural make-up. It appears to the present writer that this is strikingly shown in the following two cases of isolation, not however feral.

In a recent article Professor Kingsley Davis²¹ reports on the tragic case of Anna, a child of five years of age, long isolated in an upper room of a farmhouse in Pennsylvania. Professor Davis's article concludes that congenital mental deficiency is not solely responsible for Anna's small degree of recovery; but rather isolation, and, after recovery, inadequate education during the two years since her rescue is indicated by Professor Davis. This places her near the pole of Rauber's *dementia ex separationone*, which recovers little.

Parelleling this case most closely, even in detail, is one from Ohio of the

²¹Davis, Kingsley: "Extreme Social Isolation of a Child." *Amer. Journal Soc.* Volume XLV. January, 1940, pp. 554-565.

girl Isabelle, of the same age and rescued from similar isolation less than a year later. This girl, with the best of care and education since her rescue, has made a remarkable recovery which has been observed by Professor Francis N. Maxfield of the Psychological Clinic, Ohio State University.

Professor Maxfield indicates that he considers this recovery to show that isolation in early childhood has little or no permanent effect on the mental and personal development of the child of normal endowment at birth. Cases of feral man, like Itard's Victor, who are given the advantage of scientific care and training and yet make little progress he considers cases of mental deficiency. The inferior progress of cases less carefully taught he would attribute either to this lack of adequate training or to mental deficiency, or to both. From this standpoint he would consider Anna still a doubtful case, but likely to prove to be a case of congenital mental deficiency. The present writer favors Rauber's view and would place Isabelle toward the positive pole of *dementia ex separatione*, the last a concept with "a certain latitude in which the single cases can vary. This is, of course, connected with individual differences in sensitivity as well as with the time, degree, and period of beginning of isolation."

Notwithstanding this considerable difference between the interpretations of the present writer and Professor Maxfield, this work is most greatly in his debt not only for the contribution of a prefatory Foreword, but also for the following notes on Isabelle and a comparison of that case with Anna, reported by Professor Davis.

In November, 1938, Isabelle was brought to the Columbus children's Hospital and has been there continuously since that time.

Because the child's family were on the defensive and did not wish to have to answer charges of cruelty and neglect, much of the clinical history as taken on admission cannot be taken at face value and some of the statements made by various members of the family are certainly untrue.

Isabelle's mother is a woman of relatively low-grade intelligence, though probably not to be rated as feeble-minded. She is nearly totally deaf and is blind in one eye. She never attended school and cannot read or write.

Paternity of child unknown, or, at least, concealed. Family history of mother negative for epilepsy, mental disorder, or mental deficiency. Mother lived with the maternal grandparents (i. e., her own parents); kept more or less closely at home.

After Isabelle's birth she and her mother were kept in a dark room. Food was brought to the door and shoved in on the floor.

Comparison of Isabelle and Anna

Isabelle		Anna
April, 1932	Born	March, 1932
With mother in dark room	Isolation	Alone in isolated room
Mother a deaf mute		
Birth to November, 1938.	Period of Isolation	Birth to February, 1938.
Malnourished Rachitic.	Condition when removed	Malnourished. Weighed thirty-one pounds. Skin and bones. Could barely walk.
Legs bowed; gait, skittering		
Mute		Mute
No comprehension of language spoken by others.		No comprehension of language spoken by others.
At Children Hospital, Columbus, Ohio	Disposal in 1938-40	1. At county Home 2. Foster home 3. Private residential school for retarded pupils
Lower legs straightened early in 1939	Operations	No operation
Femurs in summer 1940		
Talks, readily understands most of what is said	Condition September, 1940	Meager comprehension of language
Physical condition good		Physical condition O. K.
Normal mentality	Prognosis	Mental deficiency

I do not see any reason to refer Anna's mental deficiency to her isolation. I think that she is a case of congenital deficiency. See report on her by Kingsley Davis, *Amer. J. Sociol.*, January, 1940.

Nor do I see any reason to suppose that Isabelle has suffered any permanent arrest of mental development due to her isolation.

(Signed) Francis N. Maxfield

Psychological Clinic
Ohio State University
Columbus, Ohio
September 27, 1940

Rauber's criticism of the failure of psychiatrists to treat the problem of feral man was met in 1898 in a work already cited, *The Mental Affections of Children*.²² Dr. W. W. Ireland in an appendix chapter adequately summarizes the data on the classical cases, as well as the familiar ones from India. Disappointed that an alleged case he had followed up in 1874 after the boy was placed under the care of a Dr. Whishaw of the Lucknow Lunatic Asylum, (see p. 169, fn. 38), Dr. Ireland apparently rather regretfully decides that all the cases were natural idiots, like Sanichar of the Sikandra Orphanage, which he cannot deny as a feral case.

Dr. Ireland's summary is so fair and urbane that the present writer would be inclined to agree with Dr. Ireland's equivocal conclusions on the basis of all these data were it not for the fact that in the case of the wolf-children of Midnapore we at last have satisfactory and creditable evidence from the Reverend Singh, the rescuer of the children, that they lived as animals among animals. Therefore the common retarded behavior that these previous cases of feral man have in common with the proved cases of the two girls rescued from attics at almost the same ages as that of the elder of the wolf-children of Midnapore is the best evidence of the authenticity of these previous cases, few of which can otherwise be authenticated to the satisfaction of science.

²² Ireland, W. W., *op. cit.*, pp. 371-425.

CHAPTER V

Data on the Cases of Feral Man which Recovered from the Effects of Severe and Long-continued Isolation

As instances of the other pole of idiocy *dementia ex separatione*, of those whose mental functions remain intact or are able to develop despite the influence of long-continued isolation, Rauber cites the wild-girl of Songi. Many points in this ancient case of 1731 are substantiated by the strikingly parallel case of 1933 of "Tarzancito" of San Salvador, also interesting as the only feral case reported from America. To these I have added an early account of the half-wild boy of Zips, Hungary (1794), and the material already translated into English on Kaspar Hauser. First a translation will be given of Rauber's data on the case of the wild-girl of Songi. It will be apparent that our data on her are inferior to those on these other cases, if only because of its admixture with the fantastic theories of her origin argued by her biographers.

It is surprising that Rauber also does not cite the even more strikingly crucial case of Kaspar Hauser of Bavaria of 1828. On this amazing case of the results of, but considerable recovery from, isolation, we have abundant and scientifically valid evidence from the lawyer, educator, and medical man who knew him during the five years that he lived in human society from the age of about 17 until he was 22. Feuerbach's data on Kaspar Hauser will be here added to Rauber's treatment of the wild-girl of Songi as a crucial case of a very marked recovery from severe and long-continued isolation.

But first we will turn to the data on the wild-girl of Songi as given by Rauber:¹

Case XXXIII. The Girl of Songi in Champagne (*Puella Campanica* Linn.)²

While the case of Wild Peter shows only a limited development from a very low yet doubtful beginning, the present case gives us an example of

¹ Rauber: *Homo Sapiens Ferus*, pp. 41-48.

² Literature: *Histoire d'une jeune fille sauvage trouvée dans les Bois à l'âge de dix ans*. Published Madame H——t, Paris, MDCCCLV, 12. This name is copied Hecquet in Barbier,

extensive development after the individual was brought back into the circle of human contact. In the meantime, the extent to which the girl was previously deprived of human companionship remains uncertain.

In September 1731 a girl of nine or ten years, suffering from thirst entered the village of Songi at dusk. This village is four or five leagues from Châlons in Champagne. Her feet were naked, her body was covered with rags and skins of animals. Instead of a hat she wore a piece of bottle-gourd on her head. She carried a club in her hand, and when someone in the village set a dog at her she gave it such a heavy blow on the head that the animal fell over dead at her feet. Full of joy over her victory, she threw herself several times on the body of the dog. Then she tried to open a door; but she did not succeed, she returned to the fields near the river, climbed a tree and went quietly to sleep. A woman enticed her from the tree and thus she was captured by the villagers. Brought into the kitchen of the village castle, she saw a fowl which the cook was dressing. She threw herself upon it with eagerness and evidences of appetite and began immediately to eat it. She strangled a little rabbit which was given to her and ate it also. After she had been washed several times it was discovered that her natural complexion was white, as it afterwards remained. It was noticed that her thumbs were very large as compared to the rest of her hands, which was the result of climbing trees, which she practiced with great skill. She even succeeded in swinging from one tree to another and catching only the thinner branches. She found ways to make holes in walls and roofs on which she walked as easily as on the ground. At the same time she would crawl through incredibly small openings and tried in this manner to escape from the neighborhood, during the winter. She climbed a tree, but was soon brought back again. Her skill in running was amazing; she ran by taking short steps, which she kept up in later life, though she lost some of her ability through long illnesses caused by her new mode of living after being captured. Her steps could not be distinguished from one another, as among us. She moved more in the manner of a rapid pattering and it was impossible to distinguish the separate move-

Dictionnaire des ouvrages anonymes et pseudonymes, II, ed. Vol. I, 1822 and 1825. On page 129 he writes, "According to a manuscript note of M. Abeille, La Condamine, who is supposed to be the author of this account." (Apparently it is given in its entirety in French, Tafel: *Fundamentalphilosophie* fn., p. 93-110. There is an original in French N. Y. Public Library, which I did not have an opportunity to read. Zingg.)

A translation of this story has appeared in the *Allgemeine Magazin der Natur, Kunst, und Wissenschaft*. Leipzig, 1756, pp. 219-272; and was also published under the title "Merkwürdiges Leben und Begebenheiten eines in der Wildnisz aufgewachsenen Mädchens." Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1756, 8.

Mercure de France, Décembre, 1731.

L. Racine, *La Grace*, poème. Nouv. Edit., Vol. II p. 2. Londres, 1735.

Rudolphi, *Grundriss der Physiologie*, I, 1821 p. 25.

Blumenbach, *Beiträge zur Naturgeschichte*, II, p. 38. (Raubert)

ments. It was more like gliding than walking, and yet in this way she succeeded in catching wild game, on the run. She was just as agile in diving and catching fish and frogs which she ate raw. She remembered, as later stories proved, that two or three days before her capture she had passed a river by swimming and diving. She then had a companion of the same appearance as herself. A young man had shot at her while she was swimming but without hitting her, as he believed that she was a water-bird; but afterwards he allowed her to land. She got into a serious quarrel with her companion when she found a rosary on the ground and wanted to keep it for herself. On this occasion she hit her companion with the club she carried. She hit her on the head, causing the blood to run down. The wounded girl began to cry terribly. Her pity was aroused at this and she caught a few frogs which she choked and pasted their skins on the forehead on the wounded girl in order to stop the flowing of the blood. She dressed the wound with bandages of bark from trees which she tore off with her nails. Hereupon the girls separated, the wounded one choosing the direction of the river, and the victorious one going to Songi. She had made a bracelet of the rosary. The bad treatment which she received was not rarely caused by the crying which she used as her language. This crying was something terrible, in particular when it was caused by anger or fear. She also cried when somebody whom she did not know approached to touch her. For instance when a man in the house of the Intendant of Champagne who having the child brought to him and wishing to embrace her, she gave him such a blow with her hand in which she was holding a piece of raw beef that she was eating with pleasure, that he was stunned and blinded and hardly could keep his feet. The same time she ran to a window to jump down because she saw trees; she would have done this if she had not been held. It was only with great difficulty that she finally abandoned the custom of eating red or raw meat as well as leaves, branches, and roots. Even after two years after her capture she still had not lost the tendency to jump into water to catch fish. In this manner she once escaped from the Castle of Songi through an open door which led to a pond. She jumped into it completely dressed, swam through it and landed on a small island, which was in the pond, to catch frogs in ³ order to eat them with pleasure. When she was visiting the castle another time, when a large dinner was prepared she didn't find anything that suited her taste among all that was there, because it was all cooked with salt and pepper. She ran out of the castle like lightning and running along the bank of canals and ponds returned with a quantity of living frogs in her apron, which she deposited by handfuls on the plates of the guests. Full of joy at these good things she shouted these words, *tien man man donc tien*. These were about the only words which she had learned to articulate in

³ See p. 202, fn. 37.

this time. When she discovered how little the others cared for the frogs, which jumped all over the place, she collected them alive again and brought them back to the table and the dishes. The attempts to accustom her to our food in the beginning had the result that her teeth fell out.⁴ Later she received new teeth but her health suffered severely from her mode of living and continued to be very precarious. She fell from one severe illness into another one. Unhappily people came to the idea to bleed her in order to correct her wild characteristics and to break her untamed will. Her biographer, L. Racine, observed that this contributed no little to undermine her health. Slowly she accustomed herself, however, completely to our mode of living, and her former food became disgusting to her. After the death of her guardian, little "*le Blanc*" as she was called was brought to a convent at Châlons, and thereafter (1747) to the convent, in St. Menehould. Here la Condamine visited her and examined her condition. In the meantime she had learned the French language, had acquired manners, and that much prized ability in feminine handwork. From St. Menehould she later came to Paris to a Convent *Nouvelles catholiques*. Here she celebrated her first communion and confirmation. While preparing to become a nun, she became dangerously sick as the result of the injury of her head caused by the fall of a window. She gained her strength only very slowly.

When later she was exposed to some distress she showed her faith by saying, "Why should God have searched for me and saved me from the power of the wild animals and made me a Christian? Should this have happened in order to leave me and make me die from hunger? This is not possible. I know only Him; He is my father, and the Virgin Mary is my mother; they will take care of me!" Mlle. "*le Blanc*" indicates that she began to think only after some education. During the entire period which she passed in the woods, she almost had known no other thoughts but of the sense of her needs and the desire to satisfy them. She does not remember either her father or her mother, or any other person, or her country. She does not remember having seen houses before, but holes in the ground and a type of hut which were perhaps covered with snow. But she remembers very well that she often climbed trees and went hunting for animals. She believed that trees and earth had produced her. She also believed that she preserved a like memory of the sea or a river and a large water-animal. She even assured M. *de la Condamine* that she has twice passed over the sea; and so it could happen that her biographer in combining her recollections with each other concluded that she came from the Esquimos.

If, after the information given up to now, it is impossible to doubt neither the intelligence of the girl nor her former wildness, the following

⁴ Were her age when found nine or ten as Tafel says (see p. 258, at fn. 11), it would not be surprising if some of her milk teeth fell out. (Zingg)

is to be added in regard to the time before her capture. According to the *Mercur de France* Dec. 1731,⁵ it was certainly not the first time that she was caught in Songi; but already once before. According to this report, she remained some time with a lady of whom she learned something. This lady had dressed her because before she had been naked. She had been kept in the house. Before she came to Songi, she was seen at Vitri-le-François accompanied with a Negress, with whom she fought about a rosary. Here we will have the connection with the story as told in the beginning of this report.

⁵ "Letter written from Châlons in Champagne on the 9th Dec., 1731, by Mr. A. M. A. in reference to the wild girl found in the neighborhood of that city: . . . 'I have the honor to answer your letter of the second of this month in reference to the condition of the wild girl . . . as much as I have learned about it, and as I have known about it myself, since she came to me. I must tell you to start with that for the little contact that she had made with the world, and knowing only a few French words badly articulated, it is almost impossible to conjecture in which country she was born: . . . a citizen of Châlons who has been in Guoadalupe showed her cassava (or manioc) which is a dish which the natives of the Antilles eat. She cried from joy when she saw the bread (made from it) and having taken a piece, she ate it with great appetite. He showed her also other curiosities of the same country in which she found great pleasure showing that she had seen such things. By urging her to speak it was learned that she had crossed the seas; and that afterwards a lady of quality had taken care of her education and had her dressed, because before she had been covered only with skins. This lady kept her inside the house without showing her to anybody; but her husband did not want to keep her any longer. Because he objected that his wife should associate with such an object, she was forced to run away. Finally when the moon was bright, which she called the light of the good virgin, and by only walking at night she came last September to the village of Songi four leagues from Châlons, which belongs to Mr. d'Epinoy . . . We know besides that before she came to Songi, she was seen above Vitri-le-François accompanied by a Negress with whom she fought over a rosary, which she called a large *Chimef*. The wild-girl, being the stronger, secured the rosary, and the Negress left her. Later the Negress has been seen near the village of Cheppe near Songi, where she afterwards disappeared.

"Regarding our wild girl, the shepherd of Songi saw her among the vineyards, skinning frogs and eating them with tree leaves. She was brought by this shepherd to the castle of Epinoy. He ordered him to lodge her and to take care of her food, etc. The care of that gentleman during almost two months which he kept her, allowing her the greatest part of the day in his castle, permitting her to fish in the moat of the castle, and allowing her to collect roots in his garden, drew many people there. It was noticed that everything she ate was raw, such as rabbits which she cleaned with her fingers, as skillfully as a cook. She could climb up trees more nimbly than a woods-cutter (*boucheurons*). When she was at the top of trees, she would imitate the sound of different birds of her country. I have myself seen her in a garden of Châlons, searching the ground for roots, using only her thumb and first finger, in this manner making holes as fox-terriers do in no time, as skillfully as if she had used a pick-ax.

"The Bishop of Châlons and the Intendent have seen her in these kinds of exercises. The Bishop has since taken care of her by placing her in the main *Hospital* of that city, where children of both sexes from poor families are received, and kept until the age of 15 or 16 years to be taught trades. It was there that they tried to humanize her completely and to instruct her. Sometimes she would eat bread which she did only to please, for she hated it as well as everything else which was salted. Sea-biscuit and cooked meat made her vomit;

Blumenbach says mockingly about this case: "The *puella Campanica* as Linnaeus calls her, or the Dlle. le Blanc according to her French biographer,⁶ who was inclined to consider her an Esquimo girl, driven to France, was supposed to have first been seen in the water. Here there were two girls about ten years of age, armed with clubs, who swam and dived around like mud-hens. They started fighting over a rosary which they had found. One was said to have hit the other on the head, but immediately afterwards bandaged her with a plaster of frog-skin and a piece of bark. This one was never seen but the other one wearing a bottle-gourd on her head instead of a hat is said to have walked into a neighboring village, etc.

Also Rudolphi⁷ considers the case insufficient. (Rather Rudolphi says that the sources on the *Puella Campanica* are insufficient. See below.—Zingg.)

and she could not stand anything that had flour in it. The Intendent wanted to make her eat fritters, but she could not eat them because of the flour in them. She liked macaroons, and gin which she called "burn-stomach." As for water, her usual drink, it was taken from a pail, sucking it like a cow on her knees. She doesn't want to sleep on mattresses. The floor suffices her. She swims very well and fishes on the bottom of the rivers. She calls a net *debily* in the dialect of her country. To say "How do you do, young girl," according to her they say, "*yas, yas, fioul*," adding to that, that if one called her they cried, "*riam, riam, fioul*"; which shows that she begins to understand the meaning of French words, interpreting them by these words of her own country.

"For the rest, she seemed to be about 18 (?) years old; being medium size; with a slightly brown complexion; nevertheless her skin of the upper arm and her throat appeared white; she has blue eyes which are bright; she talks distinctly and brusquely; she seems to be intelligent, because she learns easily what is shown to her; talks pretty well. She let it be known that she was able to make tapestries of *petit point*, by going through the motions of making them through passing the needle from above to below and from below to above. The Mother-superior of the hospital, says that she knows how to embroider well, which she has learned from the lady who took care of her; but the girl cannot tell in which country this could have been, because she did not speak to anyone nor go out. She was instructed in the Christian religion. She said that she wished to be baptised in the "earthly paradise," a term which she used to indicate our churches. The priests of the neighborhood of Songi have made it plain to her by signs that she should not climb on trees, because it was not decent for a girl, so she immediately refrained from it. It was rumored that orders had come to send her to Court; but it is not known how she could have heard it. When one went to see her in the *Hospital*, she hardly dared to appear, cried and grieved, fearing that one came to make her leave, because she liked it there very much where much attention was shown to her."

"As one recognizes, this report varies from that given above in several points. It could be believed particularly with reference to the dates (*Jahrezahlen*) that additional substitutions have been made. Meanwhile it appears that the report contained in the *Mercur de France*, which is the most important source for this case, actually dates from 1731. After several fruitless efforts, I succeeded in getting this volume from the royal public library in Dresden and will here acknowledge my gratitude." (Rauber)

⁶ In the *Hist. d'une jeune fille sauvage*. Paris, 1755. 8. (Blumenbach)

⁷ Rudolphi: *Grundriss der Physiologie* I, 1821, p. 25.

On the other hand among others Herder,⁸ Schreber,⁹ and Tafel¹⁰ consider this case anything but humorously; but treat it with very much interest. To give only the opinion of Tafel who says: ". . . This also is true of the *Puella Campanica*, as Linnaeus calls her, or of the girl of nine or ten years of age¹¹ who was captured in Sept. 1731 in Songi in Champagne, whose story is by no means insufficient, as Rudolphi says. La Condamine confirms the reports about her as well as other information, as does Acad. Louis Racine . . . On the one hand the state of wildness, and on the other the later-obtained civilization from humans; therefore Rudolphi himself admits: "yet it seems that this girl (afterward a nun) had more intelligence."

One must agree with Rudolphi that the sources on the *Puella Campanica* are inadequate, or at least incommensurate with the importance of this case. They are incomplete or defective especially with regard to how long she had lived in isolation and regarding the mysterious lady who had first undertaken her education, taught her to embroider, etc. before she appeared at Songi. Also the primary data are marred by fantastic theories of her origin as an Esquimo or on the Island of Guadeloupe. Still we are inclined to admit Rauber's conclusions "that it is impossible to doubt either the intelligence of the girl, or her former wildness."

The defects in the data are the more lamentable because of the crucial light that the case of the girl of Songi could throw upon the question of isolation and feral man, due to her not inconsiderable recovery of human faculties. The record would seem to merit some consideration since it cites contemporary persons like the Intendent of Champagne and the Bishop of Châlons, the latter who provided her with asylum in a Catholic hospital.

The girl of Songi is the only case of this sort, so far recorded, who recovered speech to talk distinctly, if brusquely. She clearly seemed to be intelligent since the record shows that she learned easily what was shown her. That the growth of her intelligence was sufficient for her to assimilate enough of the Catholic religion to become a nun seems certain enough. But through the defect in the records as to her exposure to isolation no scientific conclusions seem justified despite the remarkable recovery of the

⁸ Herder: *Ideen zur Geschichte der Menschheit*, I, 1784.

⁹ Schreber: *Die Säugethiere*, I, 1775.

¹⁰ Tafel: *Fundamentalphilosophie*, I, p. 93.

¹¹ (See p. 255, fn. 4) This is the most specific reference to her age.

frog-and-fish girl recorded in the beginning to become a devout nun who had assimilated enough of the Christian religion to say:

Why should God have searched for me and saved me from the power of wild animals, and made me a Christian? Should this have happened in order to leave me and make me die from hunger? This is not possible. I know only Him; He is my father and the Virgin Mary is my mother; they will take care of me.

Case XXXIV. "Tarzancito" of El Salvador

Additional check on the records good and bad of the wild-girl of Songi, a feral case which is crucial because of her great recovery, is apparent in a recent case (1933) of a wild child who, apparently, spent some years alive in the forest, existing on wild fruits and fish. This is the case of "Tarzancito" which parallels the case of the wild-girl of Songi, not only in the almost complete recovery noticed for them but in other details. "Tarzancito" is recorded as rescued at about five years of age, instead of nine or ten, as was the *Puella Campanica*. As in her case the crucial data are lacking as to the period of isolation. He may have slept in the treetops for fear of wild animals, for his climbing is extraordinary. Not only did he swim and eat raw fish like the Songi girl, but curiously enough was rescued, after having escaped several times, while fighting off dogs with a stick, just as the Songi girl was reported as having killed an attacking dog with a club just before she was captured.

The first American publication on this case was in *The American Weekly*, "Mystery of Salvador's Jungle Wild Boy," Oct. 27, 1935. Also the reporter Ernie Pyle gave the case of "Tarzancito" wide publicity in the American press,¹² in reports which follow later. At Mr. Pyle's suggestion I wrote to Colonel Marroquin and received the following official letter and data which bear out Mr. Pyle's account very well.

San Salvador
October 21, 1940

Prof. Robert M. Zingg
University of Denver
Denver, Colorado

My dear Sir:

I refer to your letter of Oct. 3rd and am sending you the data which

¹² Pyle, Ernie: "Tarzancito," *Scripps-Howard Newspapers and United Feature Syndicate, Inc.*, March 13-16, 1940.

carry the true account of the life of "Tarzancito" up to the present date. I have no doubt that they will serve you in your scientific studies.

"Tarzancito" on his part was much pleased with the two dollars which he received from you. With these he has bought necessities for his schooling, which will serve him very well in his studies.

With my distinguished consideration for you, I subscribe myself,

Your attentive servant

(Sgd.) Alfonso Marroquin.

The True Account of the Life of "Tarzancito"

Being the Commander of the Port Acajutla, and there in 1931, I heard of a child in a wild state. I learned this through some peasants called Abraham Zepeda and Pantaleon Gonzalez, who were wood-cutters in the forests of the hacienda "El Coyal," the property of another man, named Francisco Orozco. Various times they had wished to capture this wild boy, but had not succeeded in doing so because of the ability of the boy in running away and hiding himself in the trees.

In October, 1933, I was transferred as Departmental Commander to the city of Sonsonate. Here I received notice from the woodsman, Pantaleon Gonzalez, that the wild boy had been captured and brought to the said city of Sonsonate. He was to be found in the Police Headquarters in charge of Police Captain Salvador Parada, the actual Chief of Police of the Port of La Libertad.

Led by my curiosity to find out about this child about whom so much had been said, I went to Police Headquarters where I found him. Police Captain Parada had already bought him some clothing, and had ordered his hair cut. His appearance was sunburned and mistrusting. He ate dainties and fruits, and did not like cooked food.

While the child was acquiring confidence, he was kept in a room in the Police Headquarters. Little by little he was making friends with the policemen in a short time and he took walks through the city accompanied by one of them.

After some time he was transferred to my barracks, where he showed friendship only with me, refusing friendships of the others. He spent the day at the foot of my table, and at night slept on the floor, disdaining the bed which had been prepared for him.

At this time the child was confided for his education in the charge of Professor Jorge Ramirez Chulo, who was the director of the "Agricultural School of Raphael Campo," situated on the estate "La Agronomia" belonging to the State. In the beginning at this school nothing was de-

manded of the child until he familiarized himself with the other children and learned to speak sufficiently for a beginning in instruction. After some time he learned to read a little, and always liked to return to the city to go to the moving pictures which enchanted him. Despite his young age of about five years, he had much ability in agricultural labors and was the best worker of the place.

The woodsman, Pantaleon Gonzalez, who was one of those that captured the child, told me the following: He and some of his companions went out several times to hunt taking dogs along with them. On two of these occasions they had a chance to capture him but were frustrated by the ability which the child had to run and to lose himself in the heavy vegetation of the country. Sometimes, also, they saw his little footprints in the sand at the bank of the rivers.

On one occasion the child came up to the house of the hacienda (as he has lately told us, himself) because of the fear of wild animals. On this occasion they succeeded in capturing him, but he escaped again.

A short while later on a dark night the dogs of the hacienda constantly were barking at the side of the kitchen of the principal house of the hacienda. Sr. Orozco and some of his servants went to the place of disturbance, and great was their surprise to see that the dogs had corralled the wild boy who defended himself with a stick. Thus he was captured again and bound with heavy thongs to prevent his escape.

He was then taken to Sonsonate.

The hacienda where "Tarzancito" was captured and lived, about 60 kilometers from Sonsonate, is in a country almost depopulated, amidst great woods and rivers carrying much water.

"Tarzancito," as he has told us many times, lived when wild on raw fruits and small sorts of fish which he caught. He slept in the tops of cup-shaped trees for fear of wild animals which abound in those parts and which attacked him on more than one occasion.

Now he lives in my room barracks in San Salvador, and attends a public school in which he has just succeeded in passing into the third grade of the primary level which he attained with good grades. He has become an affable, useful and good companion who is very fond of music and has a very good ear for it.

San Salvador, October, 1940

(Official Stamp)

Mr. Ernie Pyle also suggested writing Sr. Enrique Larios, San Salvador, Salvador, Central America. Sr. Larios was kind enough to send me a report by Professor Chulo which Ernie Pyle had used on this boy. It is given below as I have translated it.

Complete Data and Studies on the Primitive Child
Found in the Mountains of "El Irayol"

by

Professor Jorge Ramirez Chulo

Professor of Experimental Psychology, Pathology and Normal

In November and December of 1933, what had seemingly been a mythological rumor—an animal in human form had been seen which caused enormous talk—was realized in those dense forests located between the Departments of Ahuachapan and Sonsonate near the coast. The figure was so shy and dark that it was seen only in the stillness of the night to take advantage of the velvety darkness to hide himself in places that offered all concealment possible in the dense tropical region, like at Zipitio and Duende.

It was then that the people, so few in those isolated regions, set out to hunt this strange creature. Don Francisco Orozco, (owner of the hacienda "El Irayol"), don Pantaleon Gonzalez, don Marcos Penate and other hunters began the task of hunting for him. They searched for him many times without being able to see him at all but finding at various times his footprints which gave proof of an existence of a human being—or an animal with feet that could not be distinguished from those of a man.

All these details of the existence of a strange creature were brought to the knowledge of Captain Salvador Parada, at that time Director of the Police of the Departmental capital of Sonsonate, who with other persons had also promised to search for it.

The men already alluded to went out many times to find him. Mr. Gonzalez telling us that on one of these occasions, at dawn, they almost shot him in mid-course as he ran between the tangled trees; that he stopped at the shouts of the hunters who gave perfect account that it was a boy in a savage condition dependent upon his instincts for survival and defense.

Much later just at dawn, the same Mr. Orozco with a light and shot-gun succeeded in capturing him after a fight in which several bites made him know he had captured something wild. This time it was to no avail, the captured boy was shut up in a room where he agilely succeeded in escaping through the roof leaving in the room the strident echoes of his wild cries.

After this attempt, another effort was more effective. The men before alluded to, with some others went into the densest jungles where he had previously resorted, without encountering the slightest trace of that miniature Tarzan who seemed to continue his existence by miracles. Several days had passed when on returning to the house of the hacienda, at a distance of two kilometers, they heard the dogs barking to show they had

corralled something of importance. On approaching the place, they saw in effect our primitive child with a stone in one hand and a club in the other. He defended himself from the dogs with so surprising an agility that the dogs had to dodge the valiant animal-like attacks of the wild-boy.

Thus they captured him, tying him up immediately and leading him to the house of the hacienda where he was placed in a doubly secured room pending taking him to the Port of Acajutla, where he would be shipped off to Sonsonate to be given in charge of authorities. With his arms tied together he was taken to the port in a coach, the coachman being Sr. Marcos Penate. Here he was given to Mr. Pantaleon Gonzalez, who relaxed his vigilance for a moment which the child took advantage of to flee precipitously to the beach of the sea. Here various other people aided in capturing him. Always tied he was taken from the Port of Acajutla, on the train, to Sonsonate where he was given to the police.

Here, he remained a month, until he was taken to the military barracks from where he was ordered to be turned over to the Department Instruction's School "Rafael Campo" under the direction of Professor Ramirez Chulo, the author of this account.

While he had been held in the barracks and by the police for a period of a month and three days, his behavior was taken for nothing less than that of an abnormal child (crazy) possibly because of the failure to give him psychiatric attention.

When He Was Found

In our small towns, the necessary facilities are so inadequate that much passes unnoticed. This savage child, when found was, according to all evidence, in a completely primitive condition comparable to our conception of stone age man. His hair was long as were his nails. Both were dirty. Naked, the boy gave the appearance of having developed by surviving the rigors of the wilds. His language consisted of a single yell (grito) and howl (llanto). He looked down at the ground with bowed head and arms in an attitude of fighting, suggesting rage. He would attack and bite over nothing. It was much trouble to dress and care for him. When they captured him they found raw fish in his hands which he ate with pleasure. The child was taken by Colonel Alfonso Marroquin, Department Commander of Sonsonate, whose last name he took with a given name of Ruben temporarily.

In our notes and observations the problem was difficult when he gave all the signs of being completely savage. The long halls of the schools echoed with his constant cry which sounded like a sign of suffering and of loss. The child was put in a room. He would cry when anyone came. He threw his food on the floor whether it was meat, fruit, or tortillas,

but he knew how to eat it when we had all withdrawn. He sought darkness when he wished to sleep and when he had fallen asleep, the movements of his well-developed muscles gave signs of fights and his inarticulate muttering of sleep could hardly be distinguished from that of monkeys. He could be generally seen with stones and sticks. There was nothing of smiling and emotion. Every once in a while he took off his clothes. Many times he went out of his room and several times was captured on the river banks and climbing the trees. Thus he lived under observation for a month until we began our experimental education.

Experimental Educational Methods

The best way we got inside of the inner world of Ruben was by sympathy. This child had an imitative power which served well in teaching him human habits. With fifty companions, with whom he lived, the world of emotion began opening up to him. We noted emotional states of crying which indicated his consciousness had glimmers of perceptions capable of responding to stimulus. Rewards are what gave stimulation to Ruben. By comparative means, such as putting other students before him, we suggested to the child states of mind which he converted into wholesome action and real development.

Examples: "Ruben likes this soup, he eats meat and this child does not. If Ruben covers himself with this sheet and sleeps in this small bed with his professor we will give him a caramel which he can eat." "We will take Ruben for a walk in the city if he behaves well," etc.

Thus in this mental struggle we could open up his confidence to a point where savage and ferocious gestures were converted into a gentle smile when anything pleased him. He articulated certain sounds without phonetic significance. Thus by active examples of his schooling we could motivate his mental development. In this way we could see a large psychological power even when Ruben scarcely knew three words, after being three months in school.

Once when the Department Commander had made a phone call to a certain person, the child placed himself by the pillar of the room and making the same gestures and pointing out the place of the telephone, repeated so literally the telephone conversation which he had just heard that it gave us food for thought on this child with a remarkable memory certainly worthy of study. This also gave us the idea of teaching him the sounds so that it was not much trouble to teach him normal words, these he understood sufficiently for a knowledge of arithmetic which gave him much trouble. Thus it is necessary to think in his spirit of observation and in the psychological form one had to teach him through memory. Once the professor repeated the months of the year which the child re-

peated admirably giving examples of an acute memory (*mnemotecnia aguda*).

Another form of educative discipline, for the best formation of his temperament, was to look for wood or lumber of which he liked to talk, evading the prejudiced contaminations that pertain to a normal education. Thus Ruben never gave signs of fear. We let him play by the river, in the trees, go out at night. And in school he showed a higher scale of activities before his companions.

For merely an essential (integral) education he was placed in contact with society. He was taken to the city and acquainted with different persons, teaching him the necessary elements of the civilization in which Ruben could make his own observation and questions. In school at first Ruben was uncommunicative (he did not speak), nervous (*alacaba*), and cried in shrieks (*chillidos*), as I have already said, like monkeys. For months he used to play and his principal pleasure was eating fruit, which more than all the rest served to him as his principal diet.

Fishing was another of the most ingenious activities of the boy. In the school there were three days in which he could express his play activity. He swam admirably, climbed trees with agility, and when, for any reason, he got mad at a companion if he were pressed they were afraid of the fierce force with which he attacked.

In a better understanding of his psychological powers and moral intuition, we recall once, when he was taken to the capital of the Republic, while he had hold of his teacher's hand, in one of the streets, he was pushed by a passer-by. At this with a look of hypnotic intensity in his eye he regarded the professor and said the following words, "Teacher mine, that man is poorly educated (imperfectly pronounced *ayucado* for *educado*). This man does not go to school, is it not so (*veldad* instead of *verdad*)?"

Also to indicate the muscular ability of our child, and the great emotion aroused by his visit to the capital, we note that when Ruben was led by his professor through one of the streets of the city, when an automobile passed down the middle of the street, Ruben released his teacher's hand, and jumped on the running board (*al estribo*) of the fast-moving car, undoubtedly because the day before he had taken a ride in this car.

The physical data on this child are those of a normal human child. He is approximately six years old. He had not lost his first dentition. His trunk was well developed. His hands and arms are not those of a child. They give evidence (*delacion*) of much instinctive exercise. He always hangs his head and carries his arms open as though expecting an attack.

His temperament shows that the child has long (*siempre*) existed in deep anger, which sometimes springs up and turn him to shouting and clinching his teeth. When he is sad it shows he needs stimulation. On

this account all of the teachers take special care in being ready to attend him every minute. Various times he had given evidence of being up to the norms of the school. When he sees a barber shop he wants his hair cut. He likes clean clothes, and what had previously been a difficult problem of getting him to sleep in a bed under a sheet, is now the first thing that he does, sleeping well and being clean.

Now the child reads words normal to his age, counts admirably, resolves simple problems of practical life, and more or less is in proper relation with the mental principles of the world as related to his age (*alcance*). In the agricultural work of the school, he works so beautifully that it is a pleasure to see the care he lavishes on the little plants with an ingenuous smile. The school has had a positive triumph in this child.

More Details

The child is better developed than ordinary children in the thorax and arms. He looks to be six years old. When he arrived at the school he was 95 cm. tall, and of small size. Now he has grown admirably and has developed his temperament in sweetness, study, and interests. His activities are almost subordinated to those of the school. But on the other hand, he still climbs trees in a manner to admire. He throws himself from one branch to another as though he were some sort of an animal. He also runs with agility, being one of the students most interested in football which interests him greatly.

Despite all the study designed to take from his mind the inclement life that he lived in the mountains, we know from himself that he lived for food on shellfish, fruits, and grass, and that he slept in caves and trees. He went naked. The animals he knew best were snakes (*garroto*), the lizard, and the dog. It is supposed that he did not know others. Though we tried to find out if some animal had fed him, we did not succeed. He was not familiar with the mountain lion and tiger. We believe that the child lived by his instincts to conquer against nature. This was shown perhaps when storms and hurricanes come, Ruben sought the corners of the room denoting a certain defensiveness against lightning. Also we have noticed he is not afraid of animals. Some days ago, he killed a *masacuata* snake of ordinary size. When asked, the boy said that these snakes were not harmful because he knew them well.

All this makes us suppose that the boy was captured at five years of age; if we had available psychological apparatus this study would have had better results.

The Mountain Hacienda "El Irayol"

This mountain has a jungle of trees and because of being near the sea it has an unhealthy climate. Thus it has no communication, and no

paths. The owner is Don Francisco Orozco. Here one gets hunting and lumber products which are taken to the Port. It has about 33½ acres. Many years ago there existed a settlement called San Benito, where can be seen an extinct footpath. Thus the unlikelihood of finding this child.

The School Where he is being Educated

The Department of Agricultural Instruction called "Rafael Campo" of Agronomy was founded by the president of the Republic, Gral. Don Maximiliano Hernandez Martinez with the collaboration of Colonel Marcelino Galdamez R. A school with 75 pupils, that carries on experimentation in agriculture, where the students from five years of age can go to learn the basic scientific agricultural experiments. It is under the direction of Professor Jorge Ramirez Chulo, a specialist in psychological study and to whom we owe the thanks for making a scientific study of the child for the world. The professor is preparing a more detailed study.

More Complete Data

Our primitive child was baptized in the Calvary Catholic Church in the capital of the Republic with the name of Huaracan Anastacio Tamasha. Huaracan is the native word for hurricane. Anastacio in memory of the Indian Aquino whose first name was Anastacio, a name that has a niche in the history of San Salvador. Tamasha was the only articulated word that the child uttered when found. That means in Pipil language *pueblo* or town.

His God-parents were Mrs. Maria de Baratta, conservator of the musical arts, Dr. Miguel Angel Espino, one of the intellectuals of the country, the attorney Adlofo Perez Menendez, another writer, and Colonel Marcelino Galdamez R., founder of the agricultural center where the child is being educated.

Colonel Marroquin

Colonel Alfonso Marroquin, Departmental Commander of Sonsonate was the person most interested in the child. To him we owe the state in which the child is today.

Professor Jorge Ramirez Chulo

He is the Director of the Agricultural Center. To whom we owe the integral development of our child. He has studied in the Normal School of Salvador, and other schools in North and South America, to make a study of Experimental Psychology.

Now he is making methodical studies for publication.

He is about 32 years old. He has enough pedagogical material to enable advanced psychological work.

He is the author of this very interesting account of our primitive child.
(Signed) Jorge Ramirez Chulo.

Case XXXV. Extract from the records from Zips, Hungary, of Oct. 11, 1793, giving a history similar to that of Kronstadt, of a half-wild (*halb-verwilderten*) man found there¹³

The early writer on Anthropology, Michael Wagner,¹³ gives data on an ancient interesting case, not cited by Rauber, of a substantial recovery from a half-wild life caused by human neglect. Wagner extracts from the records of Zips, Hungary, the account of a poor creature who, through human neglect, had fallen into a half-wild condition. That he had lived in some degree of human association was shown by his gratitude for favors. Under the decent care of the unknown scribe whom Wagner quotes, his mental condition improved rapidly, though his physical condition presaged an early death. He learned to speak Slovak sufficiently to be largely intelligible to his benefactor; and though he persisted in an invented language of his own, he came to understand German. His case offers comparisons to that of Kaspar Hauser in the improvement noted, as well as in the convulsive movements that he fell into under emotional strain. Like all other cases, this man from Zips showed a surprising indifference to sexual impulses, though he was a mature man. Wagner's record is as follows:

It is with pleasure that I tell you what is known to me of the history of the half-wild (*halbwilden*) man, Tomko, who is living in my house. I can add that which I daily observe. I found him in the baths of Reischenbach in the Hungarian county of Zipser on the border of Galicia. He was not unknown to the people of that region. During the summer he lived in the forests near the places of the charcoal burners (*Meyererey*, could be "dairies") found there, and nourished himself with roots and raw meat. In winter he came into the villages where, mostly, a stall, a

¹³ Michael Wagner: *Beyträge zur Philosophischen Anthropologie und den damit verwandten Wissenschaften*. 2 Volumes. Wien bey Joseph Stahel und Compagnie, 1794.

This rare and early book, of interest in the history of Anthropology, deals with a description of man's bodily and mental organization. Much of it treats diseases and ills both physical and mental. Under such headings this and another case of feral man (the Kronstadt boy) are treated, rather than under any concept whatever that was later to be embraced by the subject of Anthropology as we understand it today. The only American copy of this book is in the Library of Harvard.

shed, or sometimes the hut of a compassionate peasant served him for quarters. When I saw him for the first time, a long shirt was his only garment. The entire figure of this unfortunate creature is strange. He has a moderately large head; a wide forehead, pressed back; small deep-lying eyes, which sparkle; a broad flat nose; a wide mouth, in which nevertheless an extremely long tongue appears scarcely to find room; a red beard; a feminine-looking breast; a protruding belly; and very miserably formed legs. The color of his face, as well as of his entire body, is brown. He may now be about thirty years old; but his weak constitution and his bad lungs promise him no long life. On first acquaintance his neck was surrounded with a dozen lumps which he later lost in time.

He could not speak more than the syllable "ham" in connection with which he made a forward movement of his head, like dogs do when they snap at something. With this gesture he expressed hunger. He ate and drank everything at any time, which was offered to him, consuming even the raw entrails of animals which were thrown from the kitchen;¹⁴ and he even drank urine, when he found it. In this wild condition, however, he showed signs of a good heart, and bowed his head low when one gave him something to eat, which tasted better than his usual food. If children teased him he would cry out, follow them, and raise stones to throw after them; but he would exchange the stones for clods of earth when he threw anything at those who followed him.

As long as bathtime lasted, he industriously appeared with me. But as I made preparations to go in his presence, he sat down in the corner and began to cry. I resolved on that account to take him with me, intending through my expression to make this known to him. Whether or not he understood me, I do not know. Patiently he allowed himself to be stowed away on the wagon; but when it started off, he began to howl hideously and to cry loudly, and was only soothed with much trouble.

Since this time he has always been at my house, where he has earned the affections of everyone through his good-natured behavior. It was very interesting to me to watch step by step the entire course of his education. His condition was not so much one of stupidity or insanity, as one of wildness caused by neglect. However he appeared to have lived among human beings at some time. His pleasure at the receipt of a gift, and the feeling of thankfulness which one noticed about him, showed this clearly.

First he began to understand gestures of others, and then speech; and finally he learned to speak Slovak. But much more he formed a speech of his own, which he has retained until now. Thus he would call burning the rustle of the wind. Anyone who wore a wig, he called a soldier; and snow, he called Simon and Judas, since it usually starts to snow about

¹⁴ This is also reported of the wolf-children of Midnapore and illustrated in the main part of this work in pictures taken by Rev. Singh. See p. 23.

on the day of these saints. He could never learn to count; and he never had any idea at all of a number, although he does know when one of the calves he herded gets away. Anything that is a number he designates with one, five, or eight.

He was never clever enough for religious education, and not once could he learn a prayer by heart. Still he industriously attended the Catholic church and, following the example of someone else, covered himself with holy-water. He knew in advance when Sunday should come. When one wished to reason with him about something that he could understand only with difficulty, he became impatient and distracted, and would run away.

A cap or pocketbook to be thrown over the shoulder gave him extraordinary joy. From a piece of cloth which he found, he made himself caps and bags. Of the caps he would have three or four of these on his head at once, with a like number of pocketbooks at his side. His chores are to bring letters and papers from the post office, to carry wood, and to herd the cows. He is very zealous and punctual in these little tasks and shows great loyalty and constancy to his benefactors. He calls me his consolation.

When he falls into anger his face changes, his body falls into convulsive movements, and he begins a horrible crying and always repeats the same invective. Still he never hurts anyone, though he may make gestures to attack anyone who has vexed him, still he goes not further than shutting his eyes and sticking out his tongue at them. His face changes with every emotion that he feels. Each emotion: anger, joy, sadness, fear, care, etc. express themselves clearly on his face. He loves his freedom extraordinarily well; and chains are for him his most feared punishment. He becomes enraged when he sees them; but when they are put on him, he is a figure of despondency. He appears to feel no temptation to lust, despite the fact that he shows adequate sexual development. Once when he was herding sheep on the pasture, a girl tried to seduce him. He told about it afterwards with much disgust and repugnance.¹⁵

His speech is broken, stuttering, and not always intelligible, even to those around him. He does not drink wine or brandy, since he once got himself tipsy, from which he became ill. He is not accustomed to washing or cleanliness; but he does not suffer from vermin. He is allowed to go free and to wander about; but noon generally finds him in the dining room, where he takes his place by the stove. He understands everything even if spoken in German and he often mixes in the conversation and gives the most fitting answers. He shows antipathy toward many people. Others he likes from the first glimpse. This first feeling of his goes so far that he avoids certain persons in the street and sometimes goes through

¹⁵ In this lack of sexual expression, Tomko's case agrees with all others of sexually mature feral cases. The inhibition of sexual expression by environmental conditioning is unexpected.

the deep river, the Poprad, in order not to meet these persons that he does not like.

This man seems to be completely happy, as far as happiness depends upon physical comfort. Rousseau should have seen and watched him. How much Rousseau's fiery imagination would have made him envy Tomko, had he described the fate of this pupil of nature!

Though we do not know the author of this account, it has a greater claim to veracity than its obvious sincerity. This lies in its similarity to the account of Kaspar Hauser, both being instances of what Rauber calls idiocy *dementia ex separatione*¹⁶ who made substantial recoveries. The isolation suffered by Tomko was not so severe as that of Kaspar Hauser, nor was his recovery so complete. Yet their records agree in the substantial recovery of speech; distaste for alcohol; predilection for strange but accustomed foods; great sensitivity to emotional expression, save sex; falling into convulsions at too much sensory or other stimulation, instantaneous sympathy or antipathy to certain persons, etc.

In science it is the exceptional case that proves, i.e., tests the rule, which gives this case and that of Kaspar Hauser the greatest importance. Hauser's case is the better not only because of the excellence and authenticity of the documentary evidence, but also because of the fact that he recovered more traits of human personality. Hauser's linguistic accomplishments excel Tomko's speaking of Slovak and understanding German, in Hauser's mastery of German and study of Latin.

Hauser clearly belongs also to Rauber's category of idiocy *dementia ex separatione* since at his appearance at Nuremberg he had the mentality of a three-year-old child in the body of a youth of seventeen. Hauser's recovery to almost a normal youth of twenty-two, at his death, puts him at the furthest of all cases here cited toward the pole of idiocy *dementia ex separatione* who are able to develop despite long-continued and severe isolation.

The hereditary argument in the case of Kaspar Hauser would be as perfect a *reductio ad absurdum* as Calderon's drama *La Vida es Sueño*,¹⁷

¹⁶ Kaspar Hauser is misplaced in a category of *Isolation, Amentia*, along with cases like Helen Keller in the well-known work on abnormal psychology of 1908, Tredgold, A. F.: *Mental Deficiency (Amentia)* New York, William Wood and Company. Third edition (1920) pp. 304-5.

¹⁷ Pedro Calderon de la Barca (1600-1681), the Spanish dramatist almost contemporary with and comparable to Shakespeare, in his famous play *La Vida es Sueño*, delineates his philosophy of absolute monarchy in a play revolving about Prince Segismund of Poland. The prince is caused by his father to be brought up in a tower on a dismal mountaintop in absolute isolation in order to test whether the ill omens of the prince's birth were true or false. Such are Calderon's notions of the divine right of kings that when the noble

cited by Feuerbach as a broad hint of that great lawyer's opinion that Kaspar Hauser was a prince of the German State of Baden. The hereditary argument would be that Kaspar Hauser recovered more than the others because he was a prince born of royal blood. Whatever is the evidence for Hauser's ancestry, it will hardly bear the burden of giving such a conclusion any scientific standing.

Yet for Hauser, after his appearance, we have abundant records of eye-witnesses that will stand the closest of scientific scrutiny. When we compare the record of Hauser with that of the other cases (none of which save Tarzancito, the girl of Songi, and Tomko of Zips, ever learned to speak a grammatical sentence), the difference is very great. An outstanding difference between these three cases and that recorded in the main part of this work, the wolf-children of Midnapore, and others is that the first three, like some of the others, are instances of isolation rather than of infantile association with animals. Despite a lack of all remembered human association, the fact of no infantile association with animals gave the girl of Songi, Tomko of Zips, and Tarzancito less to forget. Thus they did not have to spend the plastic years of childhood, youth, or early maturity shifting from animal conditioning to that of human beings, an excellent account of which for the wolf-children of Midnapore we have in the main part of this work.

Hauser appeared at seventeen years of age as almost a *tabula rasa*, with the mental development of a three year old, whereas the Rev. Singh's comparisons of the Midnapore wolf-children with the other children of the Orphanage shows the terrible strain and struggle that Kamala went through for years to drop off her wolf conditioning to attain the human personality of a three year old at the chronological age of seventeen. This was the same age that Hauser commenced human association. Had Kamala not died at the age of seventeen, but lived to twenty-two (Hauser's age at death), there is no reason to believe that she would have attained any more than a subnormal mentality. Without minimizing the hereditary factor, we cannot believe that the fact that one was an Indian aboriginal girl will account for this difference.

A clue to an important factor in the recovery of Kaspar Hauser is given by Feuerbach himself. He says ". . . occurrences similar to those which Hauser has related, are by no means unheard of," and after quoting Horn on the swine-girl of Salzburg (see p. 202), he concludes, "In comparison

prince is released, he instinctively assumes the royal nature and prerogative and rules as a Christian prince. Alas for the idealistic thesis of Calderon, in the historic case of Kaspar Hauser the apparent prince on his appearance at seventeen played for hours in another tower, enthralled with the hobbyhorses of the children of his temporary keeper. (Zingg)

with such abominations, the crimes committed against Kaspar Hauser may even be considered as acts in which the forbearance of humanity is still visible." Hauser was fed by a human keeper, if such a person could be called human, who also changed his clothes, and cut his nails and hair. And while there was no conceivable human association shortly following their births for Amala (a year and a half old when found), or probably Kamala, yet Hauser, like Tarzancito, the girl of Songi, and Tomko must have been suckled and cared for by a woman and spent their earliest years in human society, about which they remembered nothing. Such considerations strongly bear out Rauber's conclusions (see p. 233):

We must not forget that the human child learns more during the first two years of its life under the influence of its living surroundings than in all the entire period afterwards. The period of learning the foundations is therefore a very short one . . . If these influences fail, let us say until the fourth, sixth, or tenth years, how could it be possible that this could be without influence on the normal development of the brain?

These cases lead me to follow Rauber in a conception of the operation of heredity and environment on human mentality as a complex interplay of factors. The failure of either the hereditary or environmental factors during the plastic years cripples the mentality to a degree greater or less depending on the resiliency of the endowment and the severity and length of the period of the failure in the environment.

Such a conception is not radical, but appears as sensible. Failure to exercise any part of the human organism when it first becomes active results in great damage to its later functioning. It would appear that failure of the environmental stimulus prevents the brain and central nervous system from developing properly. It is fortunate since we have only one record of an autopsy of a case of isolation, that it should be from that of Kaspar Hauser, for whom we have the best records in all details. This material is of especial value because of the great degree to which he recovered from the effects of environmental failure.

Dr. Heidenreich in his report "Kaspar Hauser's Verwundung, Krankheit und Leichenöffnung"¹⁸ gives interesting and significant detail on the features of the skull and brain. The pertinent details are translated from him as follows:

The skull appeared somewhat low and appeared pressed down from above to below, particularly from the crown toward the sides. The skull

¹⁸ Herman Pies: *Kaspar Hauser, augenzeugenberichte und Selbstzeugnisse, herausgegeben, eingeleitet und mit fussnoten versehen*. 2 Volumes, Memoiren Bibliothek Robert Lutz, Verlag, Stuttgart, 1928, p. 171-172.

bones were somewhat thick, but otherwise showed nothing extraordinary.

The brain appeared to be small, on the whole, but there was no abnormality. . . . The cerebellum seemed rather large and developed in comparison with the cerebrum, so that the posterior lobes of the cerebrum did not cover the cerebellum as is the usual case. This gave the cerebrum an appearance of being relatively small. The brain did not show any abnormality when taken out and examined in horizontal cross-sections.

The convolutions on the surface of the brain, in general, were not very numerous nor fine; but, on the contrary, were compact and coarse. In general regarding the entire brain, the single masses like the optic lobes seemed large and well developed. On the whole, however, the brain was not of especially fine or delicate structure or formation.

The relative largeness of the cerebellum in relation to the cerebrum is significant, since the latter is the seat of the higher intellectual functions. Even more direct anatomical evidence of the failure of these higher centers to be perfectly developed is seen in the data regarding the convolutions which were neither numerous or fine. The general impression of the brain is one of coarseness rather than fineness or delicacy in structure and formation.

To turn now to the source material on Kaspar Hauser, it will suffice here to reprint that rare English translation by Henning Gottfried Linberg¹⁹ in 1833 of the most distinguished of authors on Hauser, Paul J. Anselm, Ritter von Feuerbach:²⁰ *Kaspar Hauser, Beispiel eines Ver-*

¹⁹ Anselm von Feuerbach: *Caspar Hauser, an account of an individual kept in a dungeon, separated from all communication with the world, from early childhood to about the age of seventeen*. London, Simpkin and Marshall (1833).

²⁰ Paul Johann Anselm, Ritter von Feuerbach, like Linnaeus and Tylor, won a well-merited knighthood; but not, as in their cases, for services to science but to the law. He was born in Hainichen, near Jena, on November 14, 1775; but he spent his youth at Frankfurt am Main. At sixteen he ran away from home to study at Jena where despite poor health and poverty his brilliant abilities won him the doctorate in 1795. Marriage in 1796 forced him to turn from his favorite studies, philosophy and history, to the law which offered better prospects. In various early writings he established a new theory of penal law, the so-called, "psychological coercive or intimidation theory" against the use of torture then prevalent in Germany in investigating criminals. His theory has come to occupy a prominent place in the history of criminal science. Later works, in which he was assisted by Karl Grolmann and Harscher von Almendingen, proved a powerful protest against vindictive punishment, and furthered the reformation of German criminal law. Before this time, which was at the end of the eighteenth century, the administration of justice in Germany was notable for the evils of the superiority of the judge to all law, as well as the blending of the judicial and executive functions.

Feuerbach lectured at Jena, Kiel, and Landshut between 1801 and 1805. He removed to Munich in 1805, being commanded by King Maximilian Joseph of Bavaria to draft a penal code for that country. Here he was given an appointment to the Ministry of Justice and was ennobled for his brilliant services in 1808. His influence was seen in practical reforms of



Anselm Ritter von Feuerbach

From a picture given in the biography written by his son Ludwig

brechens am Seelenleben des Menschen (Ansbach, 1832). This account is based on the legal documents, personal observation, and close contact with the constant observers, Kaspar Hauser's teachers and doctors. These latter sources as well as Feuerbach have been collected and recently published

penal law, and as early as 1806 torture was abolished. The Bavarian penal code was promulgated in 1813, and became the basis for new codes in Wurtemberg and Saxe-Weimar. It was adopted in its entirety in the Grand Duchy of Oldenburg; and was translated into Swedish by order of the king. Several of the Swiss cantons reformed their codes in conformity with it.

Feuerbach's importance in the history of jurisprudence is sufficient for the *Encyclopedia Britannica* to carry a long article on his life from which much of this is taken. The best source on his life is the biography written by his son, Ludwig Andreas Feuerbach: *Anselm, Ritter von Feuerbach's Biographischer Nachlass*, 2 Volumes, Leipzig, Verlags buchhandlung von J. J. Webber, 1853.

by Dr. Phil. Hermann Pies²¹ in two volumes. Pies' footnotes, by permission, are added in the accompanying account, since they clarify and point out minor discrepancies between the reports of the others, who knew him better, and Feuerbach, discrepancies which arose through separate publication of the primary sources without reference to each other.

The case of Kaspar Hauser has but one defect, and that a necessary one. In a study of feral man or other cases of similar isolation, it is impossible that the observer can have shared in the subject's isolation. Especially is this the case with Kaspar Hauser, whose only recollections were of having spent all his remembered life in a dungeon so small that he could not stretch out his arms. Those who knew him best during the five years that he lived in human society believed Hauser's account of his imprisonment. There have been a thousand pamphlets, and even plays and novels written about him and the mysterious causes of his misfortune, due to his having become a controversial political figure or symbol until the end of the petty German principalities in 1918. One suspects that this is the reason that Rauber did not discuss this crucial case.

It may be of interest to note in what follows that the footnotes of the recent German writer, Pies, agree with the hints given by Feuerbach that Kaspar Hauser was the heir to the throne of the petty German State of Baden, who like a half-dozen other legitimate heirs were removed from the succession to make room for themorganatic line of Hochberg, which ascended the throne shortly before Kaspar Hauser's release.²² He became the most famous youth of Europe of his day, and his every move was noted. When it was advertised that he was writing his memoirs (which later proved to be nothing more than a few pages of vague recollections of his dungeon), the sinister forces that had kept him in a dungeon were apparently the ones that succeeded on a second attempt to assassinate him.

²¹ Hermann Pies: *Kaspar Hauser, augenzeugenberichte und Selbstzeugnisse, herausgegeben, eingeleitet und mit fussnoten versehen*. 2 Volumes, Memoiren Bibliothek Robert Lutz, Verlag G.m.b.h. Stuttgart.

²² It is of some interest to anthropologists that Andrew Lang, a writer who also made a real contribution in the history of Anthropology, argues against the claims that Hauser was heir to the throne of Baden; see his: *Historical Mysteries*, pp. 118-142. New York, Longmans, Green and Company, London: Smith Elder and Co., 1904. Lang argues against the eyewitnesses and thinks that Hauser was a sufferer of aphasia (ambulatory automatism), which hardly need be considered.

For other comments and bibliography, see p. 358, fn. 7 and p. 360, fn. 10.

CHAPTER VI

CASPAR HAUSER

An

ACCOUNT

Of an Individual Kept in a Dungeon, Separated From
All Communication With the World, From Early
Childhood to About the Age of Seventeen

Drawn up from Legal Documents

BY ANSELM VON FEUERBACH,

President of one of the Bavarian Courts of Appeal, &c.

Translated From the German

LONDON:

SIMPKIN AND MARSHALL

1833



Kaspar Hauser
As appearing in Feuerbach's book of 1832

Righteous Heaven, who hast permitted
All this woe; what fatal crime
Was by me, e'en at the time
Of my hapless birth, committed?

—Sigismund
In Calderon's *Life is a Dream*.

PREFACE

In offering the following pages to the public, it will be necessary to say but a very few words on the subject of them, or of their distinguished German author and of his translator, in order to show the peculiar claims which they have to the attention of the reader. As to the first, it will be sufficient to state that Kaspar Hauser is the individual of whom many persons will recollect to have seen, some years ago, an account in the papers of the day. He was then represented as having been found in Nuremberg in a state which threw the greatest mystery over his previous life. Hauser was at that time about sixteen or seventeen years old, had never learned to speak, and soon showed that he had been shut out during his whole life from all communication with the world. A narrow, dark dungeon, in which he was always obliged to remain in a sitting posture, so that even his bones had assumed a peculiar shape, had been all the space allowed to the unhappy being in this wide world; water and coarse bread, all the food he had ever tasted; a shirt, all his clothing; and now and then stripes, inflicted by the unseen hand of his fiendish keeper, when he happened to make a noise—all he knew of any being besides himself. He was but just allowed to vegetate—and what a wretched vegetation in his forlorn condition.

Great pains, as the reader will see, have been taken, without success, to raise the veil of mystery hanging over this foul transaction, continued even by an attempt to murder the youth, when it was falsely reported in the newspapers that he was occupied in writing his biography. But the great attention which was thus directed to him, has, though unsuccessful as to the detection of the perpetrators of the crime, not been without its fruits, and it may be easily imagined, how interesting must be a faithful account, like the following, of the process of physical and intellectual acclimatisation to life, if we may be allowed to use this expression, which a youth must undergo to fit him for society—for life and light, after his soul, intellect, and body had been left from his birth dormant and undeveloped—abandoned to perfect solitude. Light had never shone upon this being, neither on his eye, nor on his soul; and when he emerged from his lonesome darkness, he was like a new-born child in respect to all which must be acquired by experience, while the instruments for ac-

quiring that experience, the natural faculties, of course, differed from those of a child so far as they are affected by the mere age or growth of the individual. Thus he presented an opportunity for observation of the highest interest to the philosopher, the moralist, the religious teacher, the physiologist, and the physician—an opportunity which must be as rare as the crime which has afforded it.

Uncommonly attractive, however, as the account of this interesting individual must prove to every reflecting reader, whether he considers particularly the moral, the intellectual, or the physical condition of the being described, its value is much enhanced to the lawyer, by the legal point of view in which its philosophical and eminent author, in one part of the work, examines his subject, as constituting a species of crime never yet duly treated by any code of legislation—a view forcibly expressed in the title of the German original, which is thus: *Kaspar Hauser—Beispiel eines Verbrechens am Seelenleben des Menschen*,¹ which, literally translated, would be: K. H.—An instance of a Crime against the Life of the Soul (the Development of all its intellectual, moral, and immortal parts) of Man. We are sorry not to be able to preserve this title in English, the reasons for which, however, are obvious to the greater part of our legal readers. M. Von Feuerbach is well known as one of the most distinguished jurists of the age, both for his extensive learning and the philosophical acuteness displayed in his numerous works, chiefly on penal law. He, moreover, drew up the penal code of Bavaria, and is at this time president of one of the Bavarian courts of appeal.² Nothing indifferent can come from his pen, nothing doubtful be guaranteed by his name; and it is hardly necessary to add that the whole account is founded on official documents, wherever it pretends to give positive facts, and that the only duty of those who offer a work of so eminent an author of another country to the public, is to give an exact translation.

In conclusion we would mention that the translator of this work is the same gentleman, who has done himself so much credit by an English version of M. Cousin's *History of Philosophy*,³ a task of no common difficulty, and yet so successfully performed as to be a pledge for the faithful execution of the present work.

FRANCIS LIEBER.

Boston, Nov. 1832.

¹ Ansbach, 1832. (Lieber)

² A sketch of M. Von Feuerbach's life, and an enumeration of his principal works may be found in the *Encyclopaedia Americana*. (Lieber)

³ *Introduction to the History of Philosophy* by Victor Cousin, Professor of Philosophy. Translated from the French by Henning Gottfried Linberg. Boston, 1832. (Lieber)

CASPAR HAUSER

CHAPTER I

Whitmonday is at Nuremberg a day of great festivity, when most of its inhabitants sally forth from the city, and disperse themselves in the neighbouring country and villages. The appearance of the city, which, in consequence of the present scantiness of its population, is very straggling, reminds us on such occasions, and particularly in fine spring weather, rather of an enchanted city in the desert than of an active, bustling, manufacturing town; and many secret deeds may, in situations remote from its centre, then be done publicly, without ceasing to be secret.

It was on Whitmonday, the 26th of May, 1828, in the evening, between four and five o'clock, that the following occurrence took place.

A citizen, who lived at the so called Unschlitt place, near the small and little frequented Haller-gate, was still loitering before his door, and was about to proceed upon his intended ramble through the New-gate, when, looking around him, he remarked at a little distance a young man in a peasant dress, who was standing in a very singular posture, and, like an intoxicated person, was endeavouring to move forward, without being fully able either to stand upright or to govern the movements of his legs. The citizen approached the stranger, who held out to him a letter directed "To his honour the Captain of the 4th Esgataron of the Shwolishay regiment. Nuremberg." As the captain, apparently referred to, lived near the New-gate, the citizen took the strange youth along with him to the guard-room, whence the latter was conducted to the dwelling of the Captain von W. who at that time commanded the 4th squadron of the 6th regiment of Chevaux legers, and who lived in the neighborhood.¹ The

¹ The depositions concerning what passed while Caspar and the above mentioned citizen were on their way from the Unschlitt place to the guard-room and thence to Captain von W——'s dwelling, are so defective, so unsatisfactory, and withal so apocryphal, that I have thought proper to reduce their contents within a very narrow compass. Thus, for instance, the citizen mentioned before, has deposed that, after many attempts to enter into conversation with Caspar, and after having asked him several questions, he at length perceived that Caspar neither knew nor had the least conception of what he meant, and that he therefore ceased to speak to him. From this circumstance it would appear, that Caspar's conduct towards him was the same as it was in the evening, at Captain von W——'s, and afterwards

stranger advanced towards the captain's servant who opened the door, with his hat on his head and the letter in his hand, with the following words: "Ae sechtene möcht ih waehn, wie mei Votta waehn is." The servant asked him what he wanted? who he was? whence he came? But the stranger appeared to understand none of these questions; and his only reply was a repetition of the words, "Ae sechtene möcht ih waehn, wie mei Votta waehn is"; or, "Woas nit." He was, as the captain's servant declared in his deposition, so much fatigued that he could scarcely be said to walk, but rather to stagger. Weeping, and with the expression of excessive pain, he pointed to his feet, which were sinking under him; and he appeared to be suffering from hunger and thirst. A small piece of meat was handed to him; but scarcely had the first morsel touched his lips, when he shuddered, the muscles of his face were seized with convulsive spasms, and, with visible horror, he spit it out. He showed the same marks of aversion when a glass of beer was brought to him and he had tasted a few drops of it. A bit of bread and a glass of fresh water he swallowed greedily and with extreme satisfaction. In the meantime, all attempts to gain any information respecting his person or his arrival were altogether fruitless. He seemed to hear without understanding, to see without perceiving, and to move his feet without knowing how to use them for the purpose of walking. His language consisted mostly of tears, moans, and unintelligible sounds, or of the words, which he frequently

at the guard-room; and as it continued to be for several days and weeks in succession. Nevertheless the same citizen has also stated, that Caspar had replied to the question, whence he came? "From Regensburg." And also, that when they came to the New-gate, Caspar had said, "That has just been built since they call it the New-gate," &c. That witness fully believes that he heard such expressions appears to me to be as certain, as that Caspar never said any such thing. This is fully proved by all that follows; for it is highly probable that the words which Caspar repeatedly uttered, "Reuta waehn wie mein Votta waehn is," may have thus been understood by his conductor, who would scarcely have paid much attention to the words of such a simpleton as he conceived him to be.* But, upon the whole, the official documents showing the proceedings of the police on this occasion prove,** that they have been so irregular, that the depositions taken contain so many contradictions, that the witnesses have been so slightly examined, and that many of their assertions contained anachronisms which are so very palpable; that these documents cannot, without much caution, be admitted as genuine sources of historical truth. (Feuerbach)

* This comment of Feuerbach on the testimony of Weickmann has often been attacked. Elsewhere there will be more to say about it still. (Pies)

** These reports of the police under the municipal magistrate of Nuremberg, which are the first records made about Hauser, no longer exist; but they still existed after the deaths of Feuerbach and Hauser. They were in the records of the court of Ansbach until they were sent with other court records, as the records in Ansbach prove, to the Minister at Munich after the end of the proceedings over Caspar Hauser. In any case Feuerbach had nothing to do with their disappearance. The depositions in the records of the municipal court are preserved mostly in the records of the criminal trial at Nuremberg which began in October 1829. (Pies)

repeated: "Reuta wahn, wie mei Votta wahn is." In the captain's house, he was soon taken for a kind of savage, and, in expectation of the captain's return, he was conducted to the stable, where he immediately stretched himself on the straw, and fell into a profound sleep.

He had already slept for some hours when the captain returned and went directly to his stable, in order to see the savage human being of whom his children, at his first entrance, had related so many strange things. He still lay in a profound sleep. Attempts were made to awaken him; he was jogged, he was shaken and thumped, but all to no purpose. They raised him from the ground, and endeavoured to place him on his feet; but he still continued to sleep, and seemed, like a person apparently dead, to be distinguishable from one who is really so only by his vital heat. At length, after many troublesome and painful experiments upon the sleeper's capacity of feeling, he opened his eyes, he awoke, he gazed at the bright colours of the captain's glittering uniform, which he seemed to regard with childish satisfaction, and then groaned out his "Reuta, &c." Captain von W—— knew nothing of the stranger, nor could he learn anything relating to him from the letter which he had brought. And as by questioning nothing could be got out of him, but, "Reuta wahn," &c.: or "Woas nit"; nothing remained to be done, but to leave the solution of this riddle, and the care of the stranger's person, to the city police. He was accordingly sent forthwith to the police office.

At about eight o'clock in the evening his journey thither, which in his situation, was a course of martyrdom, was accomplished. In the guard-room, besides some of the inferior magistrates, several soldiers of the police were present. All of them regarded the strange lad as a most extraordinary phenomenon. Nor was it easy to decide to which of the common rubrics of police business his case appertained. The common official questions, What is your name? what is your business? whence came you? for what purpose are you come? where is your passport? and the like, were here of no avail. "Ae Reuta waehn wie mei Votta waehn is"; or, "Woas nit"; or, which he also often repeated in a lamentable tone, "Hoam weissa!" were the only words which, on the most diverse occasions, he uttered.²

He appeared neither to know nor to suspect where he was. He betrayed neither fear nor astonishment, nor confusion; he rather showed an almost

² To these expressions, and particularly, "Reuta waehn," &c. he attached, as was afterwards discovered, no particular meaning. They were only sounds, which had been taught him like a parrot, and which he uttered as the common expressions of all his ideas, sensations, and desires.* (Feuerbach)

* One should compare this with what Hauser says about his first utterances in his *Selbstzeugnisse*. (Pies: *op. cit.*, Volume II, p. 184, ff.

brutish dulness, which either leaves external objects entirely unnoticed, or stares at them without thought, and suffers them to pass without being affected by them. His tears and whimpering, while he was always pointing to his tottering feet, and his awkward and, at the same time, childish demeanour, soon excited the compassion of all who were present. A soldier brought him a piece of meat and a glass of beer; but, as at the house of Captain von W—, he rejected both with abhorrence, and ate only bread with fresh water. Another person gave him a piece of coin. At this he showed the joy of a little child; played with it; and by several times crying: "Ross, ross" (horse, horse), as well as by certain motions of his hands, he seemed to express his wish to hang this coin about the neck of some horse. His whole conduct and demeanour seemed to be that of a child scarcely two or three years old, with the body of a young man.

The only difference of opinion that seemed to exist among the greater part of these police men, was, whether he should be considered as an idiot or a madman, or as a kind of savage. One or two of them expressed, however, a doubt whether, under the appearance of this boy, some cunning deceiver might not possibly be concealed. This suspicion received no small degree of confirmation from the following circumstance. Some person thought of trying whether he could write; and handing him a pen with ink, laid a sheet of paper before him with an intimation that he should write. This appeared to give him pleasure; he took the pen, by no means awkwardly, between his fingers, and wrote, to the astonishment of all who were present, in legible characters, the name *Kaspar Hauser*.³

He was now told to add also the name of the place whence he came. But he did nothing more than occasionally groan out his "Reuta waehn," &c. his "Hoam weissa," and his "Woas nit."

As nothing more could be done for the present, he was delivered to a servant of the police, who conducted him to the tower at the Vestner-gate, which is used as a place of confinement for rogues and vagabonds, &c. Upon this comparatively short way⁴ he sank down groaning at almost every step, if, indeed, his groping movements may be called steps. Having reached the small apartment in which, together with another prisoner of the police, he was confined, he sank down immediately upon his straw bed, in a profound sleep.

³ Hauser's ability in writing was a cause of many controversies. But all these, regarding his writing and other details, cannot be gone into in detail here. (Pies)

⁴ According to Stanhope's "Materialien zur Geschichte Kaspar Hausers," the way which he first walked was 1757 paces. Added to this was the 94 steps in the stairs which led up to his room in the tower. Stanhope brings this as an argument against Hauser's helplessness in walking. (Pies)

(Caspar Hauser)

CHAPTER II

Caspar Hauser—the name he has hitherto retained—wore upon his head, when he came to Nuremberg, a round and rather coarse felt hat, shaped like those worn in cities, lined with yellow silk, and bound with red leather, inside of which a picture of the city of Munchen, half scratched out, was still visible. The toes of his naked feet peeped forth from a pair of high heeled boots, shod with iron shoes and nails, which were much torn and did not fit him. Around his neck was tied a black silk neckcloth. Over a coarse shirt,¹ and a half faded red spotted stuff waistcoat, he wore a sort of jacket, such as are commonly worn by country folks, and called janker or schalk, but which, as was afterwards proved by a more minute inspection of it, and by the declaration of competent judges, was not originally cut out by the tailor for a peasant jacket. It had formerly, as also appears from the cut of its cape, been a frock coat, of which the skirts had been cut off and the upper part sewed up with coarse stitches by a hand unaccustomed to tailor's work. Also the pantaloons, which were made of gray cloth of a somewhat finer quality, and which, like overalls for riding, were lined between the legs with the same cloth, seemed originally to have belonged rather to some footman, groom, or forester, than to a peasant. Caspar wore a white handkerchief with red crossed stripes, marked in red with the initials K. H. Besides some blue and white figured rags, a key of German manufacture, and a paper of gold sand—which no one surely would look for in a peasant's cottage—there were found in his pocket a small horn rosary, and a pretty considerable store of spiritual wealth, viz., besides manuscript Catholic prayers, several printed spiritual publications, such as, in the south of Germany, and particularly at places to which pilgrims resort, are commonly offered in

¹ Which imprudently, together with the boots, was, as was asserted, on account of their bad condition, thrown away very soon after this occurrence took place. So little attention was paid to things which, in point of circumstantial evidence, might have become highly important. (Feuerbach)

exchange for good money to the faithful multitude. In some, the places where they were printed were not named. Others appeared to have been printed at Altöttingen, Burghausen, Salzburg, and Prague. Their edifying titles were, for instance, "Spiritual Sentinel,"—"Spiritual Forget-me-not,"—"A very powerful Prayer by virtue of which one may participate in the benefits of all holy Masses," &c.,—"Prayer to the holy Guardian Angel,"—"Prayer to the holy Blood," &c. One of these precious little spiritual works, entitled "The Art of regaining lost Time and Years misspent" (without mentioning the year of publication) seems to contain a scoffing allusion to the life which this youth, according to what he afterwards related, had hitherto led. Judging from these spiritual donations, there can be no doubt that the hands concerned in this transaction were not exclusively secular.² The letter addressed,³ without naming him, to the Captain of the fourth squadron of the sixth regiment of Chevaux-legers, which Caspar held in his hand when he first appeared in Nuremberg, runs as follows:⁴

"From a place, near the Bavarian frontier which shall be nameless, 1828.
"High and Well Born Captain!

"I send you a boy who wishes faithfully to serve his king. This boy was left in my house the 7th day of October, 1812; and I am myself a poor day-labourer, who have also ten children, and have enough to do to maintain my own family. The mother of the child only put him in my house for the sake of having him brought up. But I have never been able to discover who his mother is; nor have I ever given information to the provincial court that such a child was placed in my house. I thought I ought to receive him as my son. I have given him a Christian education; and since 1812 I have never suffered him to take a single step out of my house. So that no one knows where he was brought up. Nor does he know either the name of my house or where it is. You may ask him but

² The police description of Hauser and a list of the things which he had with him upon his arrival in Nuremberg was added to the "Bekanntmachung" (announcement) of Burgo-meister Binder of Nuremberg, which was made July 7, 1828 in effort to find a clue to the solution of Hauser's case. (Pies)

³ The original of this letter and the slip of paper which were attached to the records of the magistrate of Ansbach have disappeared with them. But, on the order of Binder, a facsimile was made which was added to the above-mentioned "Bekanntmachung." (Pies) An illustration of this appears in Pies: *op. cit.*, Volume I, p. 112.

⁴ This letter agrees, in the German original, literally with the manuscript alluded to; which, from its style and orthography, appears evidently to have been intended to pass for the production of some ignorant peasant. No attempt has been made by the translator to retain, in this respect, its original character. It has been simply translated into plain English, according to what appeared to be the most obvious signification of the words, whose meaning however is not in all its parts perfectly intelligible. (Linberg)

he cannot tell you. I have already taught him to read and write, and he writes my handwriting exactly as I do. And when we asked him what he would be, he said he would be one of the Chevaux-legers, as his father was. If he had had parents different to what he has, he would have become a learned lad. If you shew him anything, he learns it immediately. I have only showed him the way to Neumark, whence he was to go to you. I told him that when he had become a soldier, I should come to take him home, or I should lose my head. Good Mr. Captain, you need not try him; he does not know the place where I am. I took him away in the middle of the night, and he knows not the way home.

"I am your most obedient servant. I do not sign my name, for I might be punished. He has not a kreutzer of money; because I have none myself. If you do not keep him, you may get rid of him, or let him be scrambled for."

With this letter, which was written in German characters, the following note, written in Latin,⁵ but evidently by the same hand, was enclosed:

"The child is already baptized. You must give him a surname yourself. You must educate the child. His father was one of the Chevaux-legers. When he is seventeen years old send him to Nuremberg to the sixth Chevaux-leger regiment, for there his father also was. I ask for his education until he is seventeen years old. He was born the 30th April, 1812. I am a poor girl and cannot support him. His father is dead."

Caspar Hauser⁶ was, when he appeared at Nuremberg, four feet nine inches in height, and about from sixteen to seventeen years old. His chin and lips were very thinly covered with down; the so-called wisdom teeth were yet wanting; nor did they make their appearance before the year 1831. His light brown hair, which was very fine and curled in ringlets, was cut according to the fashion of peasants. The structure of his body, which was stout and broad shouldered, showed perfect symmetry without any visible defect.⁷ His skin was fine and very fair; his complexion

⁵ This means in Latin script. So thorough are the German police, and such is the interest in Hauser's case, that this note is also still archived. It is reproduced p. 290. (Zingg)

⁶ The following description of his person is not taken from the records of the police, where it was not to be found; but from my own observations and from the written notes of persons on whom full reliance may be placed. (Feuerbach)

⁷ The uncrupled structure of his body was often used as an argument against his imprisonment for years, as Hauser claimed. On the other hand evidence for Hauser's distinguished birth was his small, beautifully formed hands, as well as vaccination scars, which in those days were to be seen only in children of the upper classes. (Pies) Interesting observation; and the reader will see that the crippling marks of Hauser's confinement were apparently in his misformed legs, etc. See p. 292. (Zingg)

was not florid, but neither was it of a sickly hue; his limbs were delicately built; his small hands were beautifully formed; and his feet, which showed no marks of ever before having been confined or pressed by a shoe, were equally so. The soles of his feet, which were without any horny

Das

Kind ist schon getauft
 Sie Heist Kaspar in Schreib
 name wissen Sie im selber
 geben Das Kind möchten
 Sie auf Zihen Sein Vater
 ist ein Schwolische gewesen
 von er 17 Jahr alt ist so
 schicken Sie im nach Heimb-
 erg zu dem Schwolische
 Regiment da ist auch sein
 Vater gewesen ich bitte um
 die erziehung bis 17 Jahre
 geboren ist er im 20 April
 1812 im Jahre ich bin ein
 armes Mägdlein ich Kom
 Das Kind nicht ernehren
 Sein Vater ist gestorben

skin, were as soft as the palms of his hands; and they were covered all over with blood blisters, the marks of which were some months later still visible. Both his arms showed the scars of inoculation; and on his right arm, a wound still covered with a fresh scab was observable, which, as Caspar afterwards related, was occasioned by a blow given him with a stick or a piece of wood by the man "with whom he had always been," because he had made rather too much noise. His face was at that time very vulgar: when in a state of tranquillity it was almost without any expression; and its lower features, being somewhat prominent, gave him a brutish appearance. The staring look of his blue but clear and bright eyes had also an expression of brutish obtuseness.⁸ The formation of his face altered in a few months almost entirely; his countenance gained expression and animation, the prominent lower features of his face receded more and more, and his earlier physiognomy could scarcely any longer be recognised. His weeping was at first only an ugly contortion of his mouth; but, if any thing pleasant affected his mind, a lovely, smiling, heart-winning sweetness diffused over all his features the irresistible charm that lies concealed in the joy of an innocent child. He scarcely at all knew how to use his hands and fingers. He stretched out his fingers stiff and straight and far asunder, with the exception of his first finger and thumb, whose tips he commonly held together so as to form a circle. Where others applied but a few fingers he used his whole hand in the most uncouth and awkward manner imaginable. His gait, like that of an infant making its first essays in leading strings, was properly speaking not a walk but rather a waddling, tottering, a groping of the way—a painful medium between the motion of falling and the endeavour to stand upright. In attempting to walk, instead of first treading firmly on his heels, he placed his heels and the balls of his feet at once to the ground, and raising both feet simultaneously with an inclination of the upper part of his body, he stumbled slowly and heavily forward with out-stretched arms, which he seemed to use as balance poles. The slightest impediment in his way caused him often in his little chamber, to fall flat on the floor. For a long time after his arrival he could not go up or down stairs without assistance. And even now, it is still impossible for him to stand on one foot and to raise, to bend, or to stretch the other, without falling down. The following results of a medical examination of the body of Caspar Hauser made by order of a court of justice in the

⁸ The author expressed at that time his wish that Caspar's picture might be taken by a skilful portrait painter; because he felt assured that his features would soon alter. His wish was not gratified, but his prediction was very soon fulfilled. (Feuerbach)

year 1830, furnish highly interesting data which throw much light upon the circumstances of his life.

"The knee," says Dr. Osterhausen in his report, "exhibits a remarkable deviation from the usual formation. In the natural structure of the part, the patella or kneepan forms a prominence anteriorly during the extension of the leg. But in Hauser it lay in a considerable depression. In a limb naturally formed, the four extensor muscles of the leg, the vastus externus and the vastus internus, the rectus femoris and the crurens, are attached by a common tendon to a protuberance of the tibia or shin-bone, after having formed an intimate connexion with the kneepan. But in Hauser the tendon was divided; and the two tendons of the external and internal vasti muscles proceeded separately down the leg to the outer and inner sides of the tubercle of the tibia, and were inserted below the tubercle into this bone. Between these two tendons lay the patella. This unusual formation of the part, together with a remarkable development of the two tendons, occasioned the depression in which the patella was situated. When Hauser sits down, with the thigh and leg extended horizontally on the floor, the back forms a right angle with the flexure of the thigh, and the knee joint lies extended so close to the floor that not the smallest hollow is perceptible in the ham. A common playing card could scarcely be thrust between the ham and the floor."⁹

⁹It is interesting to compare this description of Feuerbach's with that of the witnesses who watched Hauser immediately after his appearance in Nuremberg, as well as Daumer and others (Pies). See Pies: *op. cit.*, Volume I, p. 139, ff.

(Caspar Hauser)

CHAPTER III

The surprise occasioned by Caspar Hauser's first appearance soon settled down into the form of a dark and horrid enigma, to explain which various conjectures were resorted to. By no means an idiot or a madman, he was so mild, so obedient, and so good-natured that no one could be tempted to regard this stranger as a savage, or as a child grown up among the wild beasts of the forest. And yet he was so entirely destitute of words and conceptions, he was so totally unacquainted with the most common objects and daily occurrences of nature, and he showed so great an indifference, nay, such an abhorrence, to all the usual customs, conveniences, and necessities of life; and at the same time he evinced such extraordinary peculiarities in all the characteristics of his mental, moral, and physical existence, as seemed to leave us no other choice, than either to regard him as the inhabitant of some other planet, miraculously transferred to the earth, or as one who (like the man whom Plato supposes) had been born and bred under ground, and who, now that he had arrived at the age of maturity, had for the first time ascended to the surface of the earth, and beheld the light of the sun.¹

Caspar showed continually the greatest aversion to all kinds of meat and drink, excepting dry bread and water. Without swallowing or even tasting them, the very smell of most kinds of our common food was sufficient to make him shudder, or to affect him still more disagreeably. The least drop of wine, of coffee, or the like, mixed clandestinely with his water, occasioned him cold sweats, or caused him to be seized with vomiting or violent headache.²

¹ Against this generalization of Feuerbach's impression of Hauser many attacks were afterwards to be directed. (Pies)

² It is much to be regretted that in the whole city of Nuremberg not a single individual was to be found who possessed scientific curiosity sufficient to induce him to make this person the subject of physiological inquiries. Even the chemical analysis of the saliva, or other substances ejected by this young man, who had been solely fed on bread and water, might alone have furnished many not unimportant scientific results; which results would

A certain person made, somewhere, the attempt to force some brandy upon him on the pretence that it was water; scarcely had the glass been brought to his lips, when he turned pale, sank down, and would have fallen backward against a glass door, if he had not been instantly supported.—Once when the prison keeper had prevailed upon him to take some coffee in his mouth, although he could scarcely have swallowed a single drop of it, his bowels were in consequence thereof repeatedly affected.—A few drops of beer made from malted-wheat, though much diluted with water, gave him a violent pain in his stomach, accompanied with so great a heat that he was all over dripping with perspiration; which was succeeded by an ague attended with headache and violent eructations.—Even milk, whether boiled or fresh, was unpalatable to him, and caused him disgusting eructations.—Some meat was once concealed in his bread; he smelt it immediately, and expressed a great aversion to it, but he was nevertheless prevailed upon to eat it; and he felt afterwards extremely ill in consequence of having done so. During the night, which, with him, commenced regularly with the setting,³ and ended with the rising, of the sun, he lay upon his straw bed; in the day time he sat upon the floor with his legs stretched out straight before him. When, in the first days, he saw for the first time a lighted candle placed before him, he was delighted with the shining flame, and unsuspectingly put his fingers into it; but he soon drew them back, crying out and weeping. Feigned cuts and thrusts were made at him with a naked sabre, in order to try what might be their effect upon him; but he remained immovable, without even winking; nor did he seem to harbour the least suspicion that any harm could thus be done to him.⁴ When a looking-glass was once held before him, he caught at his own reflected image, and then looked behind it to find the person whom he supposed to be concealed there. Like a little child, he endeavoured to lay hold on every glittering object that he saw; and when he could not reach it, or when he was forbidden to touch it, he

at the same time have verified, as it were with intuitive certainty, the highly important juridical fact, that Caspar had been really fed on nothing but bread and water. But at the time when the judicial authorities, after many fruitless endeavours on their part, were at length placed in a proper situation to engage in the examination of Hauser's case, every opportunity of making amends for what had been lost by such omissions had long passed by. (Feuerbach)

³ V. Tucher in his description of 1828 remarks, "He lives as a man of nature . . . he goes to sleep as soon as it gets dark and is awakened by the first rays of the sun. Also in the middle of the day, when one closed the shades by way of an experiment, he went soundly to sleep immediately; but he woke up again as soon as they were opened." See Daumer, 1873, p. 122. (Pics)

⁴ It is even said that, by way of an amusing experiment, a pistol or some other piece of fire arms was once discharged at him. (Feuerbach's footnote? Zingg)

cried.⁵ Some days after his arrival, Caspar was conducted, under the escort of two police men, around the city, in order to discover whether he could recognise the gate through which he had entered. But, as might have been foreseen, he knew not how to distinguish the one from the other; and, upon the whole, he appeared to take no notice whatsoever of what was passing before his eyes. When objects were brought more than ordinarily near to him, he gazed at them with a stupid look, which, only in particular instances, was expressive of curiosity and astonishment.⁶ He was in possession of only two words which he occasionally used for the purpose of designating living creatures. Whatever appeared to him in a human form he called, without any distinction of sex or age, "Bua"; and to every animal that he met with, whether quadruped or biped, dog, cat, goose, or fowl, he gave the name of "Ross" (horse). If such horses were *white* he appeared to be pleased; *black* animals were regarded by him with aversion and fear. A black hen, advancing towards him, once put him in great fear; he cried out, and, though his feet refused to perform their office, he made every effort to run away from her.

Not only his mind, but many of his senses appeared at first to be in a state of torpor, and only gradually to open to the perception of external objects. It was not before the lapse of several days that he began to notice the striking of the steeple clock, and the ringing of the bells. This threw him into the greatest astonishment, which at first was expressed only by his listening looks and by certain spasmodic motions of his countenance; but it was soon succeeded by a stare of benumbed meditation. Some weeks afterwards the nuptial procession of a peasant passed by the tower with a band of music, close under his window. He suddenly stood listening, motionless as a statue; his countenance appeared to be transfigured, and his eyes, as it were, to radiate his ecstasy; his ears and eyes seemed continually to follow the movements of the sounds as they receded more and more; and they had long ceased to be audible, while he still continued immovably fixed in a listening posture, as if unwilling to lose the last vibrations of these, to him, celestial notes, or as if his soul had followed them, and left its body behind it in torpid insensibility. Certainly not by way of making any very judicious trial of Caspar's musical taste, this being, whose extraordinary nervous excitability was already suffi-

⁵ These and similar things were frequently told. Compare first of all Daumer's account where corresponding things are given. On the other hand this was used as an argument that Hauser was an impostor, particularly v. d. Linde did so. But none of the eye-witnesses considered him an impostor. (Pies)

⁶ Similar things were told in the legal hearings involving Hauser by the policeman Blaimer. (Pies)

ciently apparent, was once, at a military parade, placed very near to the great regimental drum. He was so powerfully affected by its first sounds, as to be immediately thrown into convulsions, which rendered his instantaneous removal necessary.⁷

Among the many remarkable phenomena which appeared in Caspar's conduct, it was soon observed that the idea of *horses*, and particularly of *wooden horses*, was one which in his eyes, must have acquired no small degree of importance. The word "Ross" (horse) appeared in his dictionary, which contained scarcely⁸ half a dozen words, to fill the greatest space. This word he pronounced on the most diverse occasions, more frequently than any other, and often indeed with tears in his eyes, and with a plaintive, beseeching tone of voice, which seemed to express a longing for some particular horse. Whenever any trifle, as, for instance, a glittering coin, a ribbon, a little picture, &c., was given him, he cried, "Ross! Ross!" and notified by his looks and motions his wish to hang all these pretty things upon a horse. Caspar, who—not indeed to any great advantage of his mental development, or to the making of such accurate observations on his peculiarities as the rarity of such a phenomenon rendered desirable—was daily conducted to the guard-room of the police, became there as it were domesticated, and gained the good-will and affection of all its constant attendants. The words, "Ross! Ross!" which, also here, he so often repeated, suggested to one of the police soldiers, who had always taken the most notice of this singular amalgamation of adolescence and childhood, the idea of bringing him, at the guard-room, a toy of a wooden horse. Caspar, who had hitherto on almost all occasions showed the greatest insensibility and indifference, and who generally seemed much dejected, appeared now to be, as it were, suddenly transformed, and conducted himself as if he had found in this little horse an old and long desired friend. Without noisy demonstrations of joy, but with a countenance smiling in his tears, he immediately seated himself on the floor by the side of the horse, stroked it, patted it, kept his eyes immovably fixed upon it, and endeavoured to hang upon it all the variegated, glittering, and tinkling trifles which the benevolence of those about him had presented to him. Only now that he could decorate his little horse with them, all these things appeared to have acquired their true value. When the hour arrived when he was to leave the police guard-room, he endeavoured to lift up the horse, in order to take it along with him; and he wept bitterly when he found that his arms and legs were so weak that he could

⁷ Similar observations are made by Daumer (Pies). Pies: *op. cit.*, Volume I, p. 139 ff.

⁸ Compare Hauser's *Selbstbiographie* (Pies). Pies: *Ibid.*, Volume II, p. 184 ff.

not lift his favourite over the threshold of the door.⁹ Whenever he afterwards returned to the guard-room, he immediately placed himself on the floor by the side of his dear little horse, without paying the least attention to the people who were about him. "For hours together," said one of the police soldiers in the declaration which he afterwards made before the police court, "Caspar sat playing with his horse by the side of the stove, without attending in the least to anything that passed around him or by his side."

But also in the tower, in his small chamber and sitting room, he was soon supplied not only with one but with several horses. These horses were henceforward, whenever he was at home, his constant companions and playmates, which he never suffered to be removed from his side, of which he never lost sight, and with which—as could be observed through a concealed opening made in the door—he continually employed himself.¹⁰ Every day, every hour resembled the other in this, that all of them were passed by Caspar sitting on the floor by the side of his horses, with his legs stretched out before him, and continually employed in ornamenting them one way or another, with ribbons and strings, or with bits of coloured paper, sometimes bedecking them with coins, bells and spangles, and sometimes appearing to be immersed in the thought how this decoration might be varied by successively placing these articles in different positions. He also often dragged his horses backwards and forwards by his side, without changing his place or altering his position; yet this was done silently and very carefully, for fear, as he afterwards said, that the rolling of the wheels might make a noise and he might be beaten for it. He never ate his bread without first holding every morsel of it to the mouth of some one of his horses; nor did he ever drink water without first dipping their mouths in it, which he afterwards carefully wiped off. One of these horses was of plaster, and its mouth was consequently very soon softened. He could not conceive how this happened; because he perceived that the mouths of his other horses, although they also were immersed in water, remained unaltered. The prison-keeper, to whom, with tears in his eyes, he showed the misfortune that had befallen his plaster horse, comforted him by insinuating that "this horse did not like to drink

⁹ He was for a long time afterwards extremely weak in his arms as well as in his feet. It was not before the month of September, 1828, after he had already commenced to eat meat, that his strength was, by continued exercise, so far increased, as to enable him to lift a weight of twenty-five pounds with both his hands, a little way from the ground. (Feuerbach)

¹⁰ Similar things are told by the prison guard Hiltel, who testified several times about his observations during Hauser's first days. (Pies)

water." In consequence of this information he ceased to water it, as he believed that the horse, by this visible deformity of his mouth, indicated his dislike to water. The prison-keeper, who saw what pains Caspar took to feed his horses with his bread, endeavoured to make him understand that these horses could not eat.—But Caspar thought he had sufficiently refuted him by pointing to the crumbs which stuck in their mouths. One of his horses had a bridle in its mouth which was wide open; hence he also made a bridle of gold spangles joined together for his other horse; and he took great pains to induce it to open its mouth and to let him place the bridle in it; an attempt in which he persisted for two whole days, with unwearied perseverance. Having once fallen asleep on a rocking-horse, he fell down and squeezed his finger; upon which he complained that the horse had bitten him. As he was once dragging one of his horses over the floor, its hind feet having got into a hole, it reared up. At this occurrence he expressed the most lively satisfaction; he afterwards frequently repeated a spectacle which appeared to him so very remarkable, and he treated all his visitors to a sight of it. When the prison-keeper afterwards expressed his displeasure at his always showing the same thing to every body, he ceased indeed to do so, but he cried at his being no longer permitted to show his rearing horse. Once, when, in rearing, this horse fell down, he ran to it with precipitate tenderness, and expressed his sorrow that it had hurt itself. But he was quite inconsolable when the prison-keeper once drove a nail into one of his horses.

From this, as well as from many other circumstances, it may well be supposed, and it afterwards proved to be quite certain, that, in his infantine soul, ideas of things animate or inanimate, organic or unorganized, or of what is produced by nature or formed by art, were still strangely mingled together.

He distinguished animals from men only by their form, as men from women only by their dress; and the clothing of the female sex was, on account of its varied and striking colours, far more pleasing to him than that of males; on which account he afterwards frequently expressed his desire to become a girl; that is, to wear female apparel. That children should become grown people, was quite inconceivable to him; and he was particularly obstinate in denying this fact, when he was told that he himself had once been a little child, and that he would probably grow much taller than he then was. Nor was he convinced of its truth until some months afterwards, when repeated trials, made by marking his measure upon the wall, proved to him by experience the fact of his own, and, indeed, very rapid growth.

Not a spark of religion, not the smallest particle of any dogmatic system was to be found in his soul; how great soever the ill-timed pains be which, immediately or in the first week after his arrival, were taken by several clergymen to seek for and to awaken them. Indeed no animal could have shown itself more unable to comprehend, or to form any conception of what they meant by all their questions, discourses, and sermons, than Caspar. All the religion that he brought with him (if the name may, without scandal, be thus misapplied,) was that with which the stupid piety of devout villains had furnished his pockets¹¹ at his first exposure in Nuremberg.

It may, perhaps, not be uninteresting to hear the observations made on Caspar's conduct and demeanour during his abode in the tower, by a plain but sensible man, the prison-keeper Hiltel, who had the care of him for several weeks. His declaration, contained in the protocol, as far as it relates to this subject, is to the following effect: "Soon after I had for some time silently observed the pretended Caspar Hauser, I was fully convinced that he was by no means an idiot, or one who had been neglected by nature, but that he must, in some inconceivable manner, have been deprived of all means of cultivating and developing his mind. To relate all the innumerable proofs of this which are contained in various phenomena that I have observed in Hauser's conduct, would extend my narration to too great a length. During the first days of his abode with me, his conduct was precisely that of a little child, and displayed in every respect nothing but nature and innocence. On the fourth or fifth day, he was removed from the upper and more closely confined part of the tower prison to the lower story, in which I lived with my family, and he was lodged in a small chamber, which was so arranged that I could constantly observe his movement without his being able to perceive it. Here I have, in obedience to the orders given me by the burghermaster, frequently noticed his conduct when he was alone; and I have always found it to be perfectly uniform. He amused himself, when alone, with his playthings, in the same natural and unaffected manner as when he was in my presence. For, in the beginning, when he was once fully occupied with his playthings, it was of no consequence whatever else occurred around him; for he took not the slightest notice of it. I must however remark, that the pleasure which he thus took in childish playthings, did not continue very long. When once his mind had been directed to more serious and more useful occupations, and had become accustomed to them, he no longer took delight in playing. His whole demeanour was, so to speak, a perfect mirror

¹¹ Compare what Daumer says about this. (Pies). Pies: *op. cit.*, Volume I, p. 139 ff.

of childlike innocence. There was nothing deceitful in him; his expressions exactly corresponded with the dictates of his heart, that is, as far as the poverty of his language would admit of it. When once my wife and myself undressed him, in order to cleanse his body, he gave full proof of his innocence and ignorance; his conduct, on that occasion, was precisely that of a child; quite natural and unembarrassed.¹² After he had got his playthings, and after other persons had been admitted to him, I sometimes permitted my son Julius, who is eleven years old, to go to see him. He, as it were, taught him to speak, shewed him how to form his letters, and communicated to him such conceptions as he himself possessed. I also sometimes permitted my daughter Margaret, a little girl of three years old, to go into his room. He at first took great delight in playing with her, and she taught him to string glass beads. This amusement ceased to give him satisfaction, as soon as he began to grow tired of inanimate playthings. During the latter part of his abode with me, he derived his greatest pleasure and amusement from drawings and copper-plates, which he stuck to the walls of his chamber."

¹² Not long afterwards, however, a feeling of modesty was awakened in him; and he then became as bashful as the most chaste and delicate maiden. An exposure of his person he now regards with horror. After the wild Brazilian girl, Isabella, whom Messrs. Spix and Martins had brought to Munchen, had lived for some time among civilized people and worn clothes, it was not without much trouble, nor yet without threats and blows, that she could be brought to undress herself that her shape might be drawn by an artist. (Feuerbach)

(Caspar Hauser)

CHAPTER IV

In a very few days after his first arrival, Caspar was no longer considered in the tower as a prisoner, but as a forsaken and neglected child, who needed to be cared for and educated. The prison-keeper admitted him to his family table, where, although he would not partake of any food, yet he learned to sit in a proper manner, to use his hands as a human being, and to become acquainted with, and to imitate many of the customs of civilized life. Most willingly did he play with the children of the keeper; who, on their part, were by no means disinclined to amuse themselves with this good-natured youth, whose excessive ignorance was diverting even to children. But particularly Julius, who was eleven years old, became greatly attached to Caspar, and felt his incipient vanity not a little flattered by the occupation of teaching this robust youth—around whose chin the first rudiments of a beard had already begun to sprout—how to speak. Curiosity soon brought, every day and even every hour, multitudes of people around him, of whom few were willing to content themselves with merely gazing at the tame savage. Most of them found some means of busying themselves with him in one way or another. Some, indeed, regarded him only as an object of amusement, or of experiments by no means scientific. Yet, there were many who conversed with him rationally, and who endeavoured to awaken his mind to a communication of ideas. One pronounced words and phrases which he made him repeat, another strove by signs and gestures to make unknown things known, and unintelligible things intelligible to him. Every thing, even every plaything, by the gift of which the kind inhabitants of Nuremberg expressed their good-will and attention to the poor youth, supplied him with new materials of thought, and tended to increase the wealth of his mind, with the acquisition of new conceptions and with the knowledge of significant sounds. Yet the principal advantage which accrued to him from this frequent intercourse with human beings, was its tendency to awaken his mind more and more to attention, to reflection, and to active thought,

according as his self-consciousness became more clear. This, again, rendered the want of communicating his thoughts to others daily more perceptible to him; and thus, the instinctively operative and inventive teacher of languages within him, was continually kept actively employed.

About a fortnight after Caspar's arrival in Nuremberg, he was most providentially favoured with a visit from the worthy professor Daumer,¹ an intelligent young scholar, who, in the kindly feelings of his humane heart, discovered a peculiar vocation to devote himself to the mental development, education, and instruction of this unfortunate youth,—as far as the eager importunity of curious visitors and other impediments and interruptions permitted him to do so. Caspar would not have possessed so active a mind, so fervent a zeal to lay hold on every thing that was new to him, so vivid, so youthfully powerful, and so faithfully retentive a memory, as, to the astonishment of all, he evinced, if, with such assistance, he had not very soon learned to speak, sufficiently, at least, in some degree to express his thoughts. Yet, his first attempts to speak remained for a long time a mere chopping of words, so miserably defective and so awkwardly helpless, that it was seldom possible to ascertain, with any certainty, what he meant to express by the fragments of speech which he jumbled together. Continuity of speech or consistency of narration, was by no means to be expected from him; and much was always left to be supplied by the conjectures of the hearer. To the burghermaster, Mr. Binder, Caspar was not only an object of deep interest, in as far as his humane feelings were concerned, but he claimed his particular attention in the performance of his official duties as the head of the police; and to this most extraordinary subject of police inquiry he devoted a very large portion of his time and attention. It was indeed sufficiently apparent, that the everyday forms of official business were ill adapted to this, by no means every-day occurrence;² and that formal official inquiries and examinations could not be expected to throw any light whatsoever upon this mystery. Mr. Binder therefore very properly chose, in the present case, to avoid the embarrassing restrictions of legal forms, by means of extra official proceedings. He caused Caspar, almost every day, to be brought to his house, and made him feel, as it were, at home in his family. He conversed with him, and made him talk as well as he could; and thus he

¹ About Daumer's first visit with Hauser in the tower, see his own account (Pies). Pies: *op. cit.*, Volume I, p. 139 ff.

² But then the rash attempt ought not afterwards to have been made, to give, at a later period, to transactions which were only of a private nature, the apparent form of official inquiries; which gives to the public documents appertaining to this case a very singular appearance. (Feuerbach)

endeavoured, by frequently questioning and cross-questioning him to obtain some information concerning the events of his life, and his arrival. It was in this manner, that Mr. Binder at length succeeded, or thought that he had succeeded, in extracting from isolated answers and expressions of Caspar, the materials of a history which was, already on the seventh of July the same year, given to the public, in the form of an official promulgation.³ This promulgation—if we may call it so—contains indeed, in many of its minute details, which have too confidently been given with unnecessary prolixity, much that is incredible and contradictory. Nor is it an easy matter to discriminate, in every particular instance, between what really appertains to the person questioned, and what in fact belongs to those who questioned him;—between what really flowed from Caspar's obscure recollections, and what, by dint of repeated questions, may have been insinuated into his mind, in such a manner, as to have been involuntarily confounded by him with things actually stored up in his memory. Many incidents mentioned, may have been supplied, or may at least have received a finish, from the conjectures of others; and the introduction of many, may even be owing to misconceptions, resulting from the impossibility of always understanding what was meant by the expressions of a half-dumb human animal, so very destitute, as Caspar was at that time, of distinct conceptions of the most common objects and every-day occurrences of nature and of life. Yet, upon the whole, that is, as far as the principal and most essential facts which it relates are concerned, this historical narrative agrees perfectly with the contents of a written memoir which was afterwards composed by Hauser himself, and sworn to by him,⁴ before a court of justice, held for the purpose of inquiring into this affair, in 1829; as it also agrees with what he has, on different occasions,

³ It is this promulgation, which has served for the foundation, upon which all accounts that have hitherto been given of Caspar, in journals and pamphlets, have been made to rest. (Feuerbach)

⁴ Hauser was not put under oath either during the proceedings in Nuremberg in 1829, or at his death-bed at Ansbach. Dr. J. Meyer remarks about this: "Also it is against the official records when Feuerbach says that Hauser was examined under oath about his life's story in 1829, in a judicial hearing. Caspar Hauser was never put under oath either in the hearing regarding his attempted assassination, or at the hearing about where he came from, or on his death-bed. It is a question if it wouldn't have been wiser to have put him under oath." An official's note in the court record of October 28, 1829, says: "Hauser was not put under oath because he was a minor, and also because Hauser was lacking in the necessary religious ideas." Also in the trial records of Ansbach a note is found where the reasons are given why Hauser was not put under oath on his death-bed. The error of Feuerbach might have been caused by his recollection of Hauser's "ceremonial friendly giving of his hand in an oath." ("*feierliche Handgelübde*"). See the records of Hauser's hearing, on October 19, as given in the *Selbstzeugnisse*. (Pies). *op. cit.*, Volume II, p. 254 ff.

invariably related to the author and to many other persons, precisely to the same effect.⁵ The account which he gave was as follows:

"He neither knows who he is nor where his home is. It was only at Nuremberg that he came into the world.⁶ Here he first learnt that, besides himself and 'the man with whom he had always been,' there existed other men and other creatures. As long as he can recollect, he had always lived in a hole (a small low apartment which he sometimes calls a cage), where he had always sat upon the ground, with bare feet, and clothed only with a shirt and a pair of breeches.⁷ In his apartment he never heard a sound, whether produced by a man, by an animal, or by anything else. He never saw the heavens, nor did there ever appear a brightening (day-light) such as at Nuremberg. He never perceived any difference between day and night, and much less did he ever get sight of the beautiful lights in the heavens. Whenever he awoke from sleep, he found a loaf of bread and a pitcher of water by him. Sometimes this water had a bad taste; whenever this was the case he could no longer keep his eyes open, but was compelled to fall asleep;⁸ and when he afterwards awoke, he found that he had a clean shirt on, and that his nails had been cut.⁹ He never saw the

⁵ See Hauser's *Selbstzeugnisse* for his story of himself. (Pies). Pies: *op. cit.*, Volume II, p. 185 ff.

⁶ An expression which he often uses to designate his exposure in Nuremberg, and his first awakening to the consciousness of mental life. (Feuerbach)

⁷ According to a more particular account given by Caspar—which is fully confirmed by marks upon his body which cannot be mistaken, by the singular formation of his knee and knee-hollow, and by his peculiar mode of sitting upon the ground with his legs extended, which is possible to himself alone,—he never, even in his sleep, lay with his whole body stretched out, but sat, walking and sleeping, *with his back supported in an erect posture*. Some peculiar property of his place of rest, and some particular contrivance must probably have made it necessary for him to remain constantly in such a position. He is himself unable to give any further information upon this subject.* (Feuerbach)

* Even these remarks of Hauser were a cause of controversy. The limbs of a human, who was forced to sit in this manner for years should have been crippled. All this will have to be discussed in another paragraph. (Pies)

⁸ That this water was mixed with opium may well be supposed; and the certainty that this was really the fact, was fully proved on the following occasion. After he had for some time lived with Professor Daumer, his physician attempted to administer to him a drop of opium in a glass of water. Caspar had scarcely swallowed the first mouthful of this water, when he said, "That water is nasty; it tastes exactly like the water I was sometimes obliged to drink in my cage."* (Feuerbach)

* This case is told wrong by Feuerbach; refer to the report of Dr. Preu. (Pies). Pies: *op. cit.*, Volume I, p. 245 ff.

⁹ Hence, as well as from other circumstances, it is evident, that Caspar was, during his incarceration, always treated with a certain degree of careful attention. And this accounts for the attachment which he long retained to the man "with whom he had always been." This attachment ceased only at a very late period; yet never to such a degree as to make him wish that this man should be punished.** He wished that those should be punished by

face of the man who brought him his meat and drink. In his hole he had two wooden horses and several ribbons. With these horses he had always amused himself as long as he was awake; and his only occupation was, to make them run by his side, and to fix or tie the ribbons about them in different positions. Thus, one day had passed as the other; but he had never felt the want of anything, had never been sick, and—once only excepted—had never felt the sensation of pain. Upon the whole, he had been much happier there than in the world, where he was obliged to suffer so much.¹⁰ How long he had continued to live in this situation he knew not; for he had had no knowledge of time. He knew not when, or how he came there. Nor had he any recollection of ever having been in a different situation, or in any other than in that place. 'The man with whom he had always been,' never did him any harm. Yet one day, shortly before he was taken away,—when he had been running his horse too hard, and had made too much noise, the man came and struck him upon his arm with a stick, or with a piece of wood; this caused the wound which he brought with him to Nuremberg.

"Pretty nearly about the same time, the man once came into his prison, placed a small table over his feet, and spread something white upon it, which he now knows to have been paper; he then came behind him, so as not to be seen by him, took hold of his hand, and moved it backwards and forwards on the paper, with a thing (a lead pencil) which he had stuck between his fingers. He (Hauser) was then ignorant of what it was; but he was mightily pleased, when he saw the black figures which began to appear upon the white paper. When he felt that his hand was free, and the man was gone from him, he was so much pleased with this new discovery, that he could never grow tired of drawing these figures repeatedly upon the paper. This occupation almost made him neglect his horses, although he did not know what those characters signified. The man repeated his visits in the same manner several times.¹¹

whose orders he had been confined; but he said that that man had done him no harm. (Feuerbach)

** See similar story by Daumer. (Pies). Pies: *op. cit.*, Volume I, p. 138 ff.

¹⁰ See the corresponding story by Daumer. (Pies). Pies: *op. cit.*, Volume I, p. 138 ff.

¹¹ Of the fact that Caspar really had had instruction, and, indeed, regular elementary instruction * in writing, he gave evident proofs immediately on the first morning after his arrival in Nuremberg. When the prison-keeper Hiltel came to him that morning in the prison, he gave him, in order to employ or to amuse him, a sheet of paper with a lead pencil. Caspar seized eagerly on both, placed the paper upon the bench, and began and continued to write, without intermission, and without ever looking up, or suffering himself to be disturbed by anything that passed, until he had filled the whole folio sheet, on all four sides, with his writing. The appearance of this sheet, which has been preserved and affixed to the documents furnished by the police, is much the same as if Caspar, who nevertheless,

"Another time the man came again, lifted him from the place where he lay, placed him on his feet, and endeavoured to teach him to stand. This he repeated at several different times. The manner in which he effected this was the following: he seized him firmly around the breast from behind; placed his feet behind Caspar's feet, and lifted these, as in stepping forward.

"Finally, the man appeared once again, placed Caspar's hands over his shoulders, tied them fast, and thus carried him on his back out of the prison. He was carried up (or down) a hill.¹² He knows not how he felt; all became night, and he was laid upon his back." This "becoming night," as appeared on many different occasions at Nuremberg, signified, in Caspar's language, "to faint away." The account given of the continuation of his journey, is principally confined to the following particulars: "that he had often lain with his face to the ground, in which cases it became night; that he had several times eaten bread and drunk water; that 'the man, with whom he had always been' had often taken pains to teach him to walk, which always gave him great pain," &c. This man never spoke to him, excepting that he continually repeated to him the words, "Reuta wahn," &c.¹³ He (Caspar) never saw the face of the man either on this journey or ever before in prison. Whenever he led him he directed him to look down upon the ground and at his feet,—an injunction¹⁴ which

wrote from memory, had had a copy lying before him, such as are commonly set before children when they are first taught to write. For, the writing upon this sheet consisted of rows of letters, or rows of syllables; so that almost everywhere, the same letter or the same syllable, is constantly repeated. At the bottom of each page, all the letters of the alphabet are also placed together, in the same order in which they actually succeed each other, as is commonly the case in copies given to children: and, in another line, the numerical cyphers are placed, from 1 to 0, in their proper order. On one page of this sheet, the name "Kaspar Hauser" is constantly repeated; and, on the same sheet, the word *reider* (*Renter*, *rider*) frequently occurs, yet this sheet also proves that Caspar had not progressed beyond the first elements of writing. (Feuerbach)

* It must not be assumed from Feuerbach's account that Hauser had really had "regular elementary education." More about this is given in the above paragraph. (Pies)

¹² It is evident, and other circumstances prove it to be a fact, that Caspar could not yet, at that time, distinguish the motion of ascending from that of descending, or height from depth, even as to the impressions made upon his own feelings; and that he was consequently still less able to designate this difference correctly by means of words. What Caspar calls a hill, must, in all probability, have been a pair of stairs. Caspar also thinks he can recollect, that, in being carried, he brushed against something by his side. (Feuerbach)

¹³ This jargon seems to imply, "I will be a rider (a trooper) as my father was." (Linberg)

¹⁴ The objection has been made with reason that animal-stupid Hauser, with no conception of anything, could not have understood this command of his leader. (Pies). This objection is easily met by the observation, made by Feuerbach of Hauser's walking, even much later, that Hauser watched his feet when he began to walk, quite naturally and unconsciously, as a child does. See p. 325, at fn. 12. (Zingg)

he always strictly obeyed, partly from fear, and partly because his attention was sufficiently occupied with his own person and the position of his feet. Not long before he was observed at Nuremberg, the man had put the clothes upon him which he then wore.

The putting on of his boots gave him great pain; for the man made him sit on the ground, seized him from behind, drew his feet up, and thus forced them into the boots. They then proceeded onwards still more miserably than before. He neither then, nor ever before, perceived any thing of the objects around him; he neither observed nor saw them; and therefore he could not tell from what part of the country, in what direction, or by which way he came.¹⁵ All that he was conscious of was, that the man who had been leading him put the letter which he had brought with him into his hand, and then vanished; after which, a citizen observed him and took him to the guard-room at the New-gate. This history of the mysterious imprisonment and exposure of a young man, presents, not only a fearful, but a most singular and obscure enigma, which may indeed give rise to innumerable questions and conjectures, but, in respect to which, little can be said with certainty; and which, until its solution shall have been found, must continue to retain, in common with all enigmas, the property of being enigmatical. Caspar's mental condition, during his dungeon-life, must have been that of a human being immersed in his infancy, in a profound sleep, in which he was not conscious even of a dream, or at least of any succession of dreams. He had continued in this stupor until, affrighted with pain and apprehensions, he suddenly awoke, stunned with the wild and confused noises and the unintelligible impressions of a variegated world, without knowing what had happened. Whoever should expect that such a being, when arrived at a full state of consciousness, should be able to give a perfectly clear and circumstantial historical description of his slumbers and his dreams, which should satisfy the understanding, so as to remove every doubt, would expect nothing less than that a sleeper should, sleeping, have been awake, or that a waking person should, while awake, have slept.

There still exist certain regions in Germany, to which, if a second Dupin were to furnish maps depicting the illumination of the human mind in different countries, he would give a colouring of dark gray, where occurrences similar to those which Hauser has related, are by no means unheard of. Dr. Horn,¹⁶ for instance, saw in the infirmary at Salz-

¹⁵ This statement of Hauser's was the object of many controversies. (Pies)

¹⁶ In his travels through Germany. (See Göttingische gelehrte Anzeig. July, 1831, p. 1097.) (Feuerbach)

burg, but a few years ago, a girl of twenty-two years of age, and by no means ugly, who had been brought up in a hog-stye among the hogs, and who had sat there for many years with her legs crossed. One of her legs was quite crooked, she grunted like a hog, and her gestures were brutishly unseemly in a human dress. In comparison with such abominations,



Kaspar Hauser, according to the drawing of Fr. Hanfstengel Kempten, 1830

the crimes committed against Kaspar Hauser may even be considered as acts in which the forbearance of humanity is still visible. That Kaspar should be unable to give any account of the mode and manner in which he was conveyed to Nuremberg, or to furnish any recitals or descriptions of the adventures of his journey, of the places through which he passed, or of any of the usual occurrences which strike the attention of travellers, whatever may be their mode of conveyance, is so far from being astonish-

ing, that the case could not have been otherwise without the intervention of a miracle. Even if Caspar had, before he left his prison, awoke to a state of clear and rational self-consciousness; if, like Sigismund¹⁷ in his tower, he had, by means of education and the cultivation of his mind, attained to the maturity of a young man, yet the sudden transition from the close confinement and gloomy obscurity of his dungeon, could not have failed to throw him either into fainting fits or into a state very similar to that of excessive intoxication. The unwonted impressions made by the external air must have stunned him, and the bright sun-light blinded his eyes. Yet even with seeing and unblinded eyes, he would have seen nothing; at least he would have observed and taken cognizance of nothing. For nature, with all her phenomena, must at that time have shone before his eyes, with the glare of one confusedly diversified and checkered mass, in which no single object could be distinguished from another. That this was really the case, even at Nuremberg, was, as we shall see hereafter, confirmed in the most unequivocal manner by actual experience. From what part of the country was Caspar brought? upon what road, and through which gate did he arrive? was his journey performed on foot, or in a carriage or a waggon? To these and to similar questions, the answers, even if they could be given with perfect certainty, would be such as would interest rather the judge who might be called upon to examine and to decide, than the public. Caspar himself remembers only his having walked; without, however, being able to add any thing which might lead to probable conjectures concerning the time consumed, or the length of the way passed over in walking. That he has no recollection of having ridden in a carriage or waggon, does not, however, prove that he may not, nevertheless, and perhaps for the greater part of the way, have been thus conveyed. Caspar sinks, even yet, whenever he rides in a carriage or a waggon, into a kind of death sleep, from which he does not easily awake, whether the vehicle stops or rolls on; and, in this state, how roughly soever it may be done, he may lifted up or laid down, and packed or unpacked, without his having the least perception of it. When sleep has once laid hold of him, no noise, no sound, no report, no thunder, is loud enough to wake him. If Caspar, which, from his own account, appears probable, fainted away whenever he was brought into the open air, if his conductors, for the sake of greater security, made him drink some of the ill-tasting water (opium diluted with water), they may, with the greatest safety, have thrown him into a waggon and driven him many a day's

¹⁷ In Calderon's *Leben ein Traum* (Feuerbach). *La Vida es Sueño*. See p. 271, fn. 17. (Zingg)

journey, without any fear of his awakening, crying out, or occasioning his kidnappers the least inconvenience. Mr. Schmidt, of Luback, has in his book *Über Caspar Hauser* (Altona, 1831) given many ingenious reasons for his conjecture, that Caspar was brought to Nuremberg from some place in its immediate vicinity. For this, as well as for other conjectures, this history leaves ample room. That the person by whom Caspar was brought to Nuremberg, must have been one who was well acquainted with Nuremberg and its locality, is certain; and that he must in former times have served as a soldier in one of the regiments stationed there, is at least highly probable.

The crimes committed against Caspar Hauser, as far as the information hitherto given of them extends, are, judging according to the criminal code of Bavaria, the following:

I. *The crime of illegal imprisonment*: (Strafgesetzbuch Thl. 1 Art. 192—695) which was doubly aggravated, first, in respect to the *duration* of the imprisonment, which appears to have lasted from his earliest infancy to the age of early manhood; and, secondly, in respect to its *kind*, inasmuch as it was connected with particular instances of *ill-treatment*. As such, we must consider, not only the brutish den and crippling position to which he was confined, and his coarse diet, which would scarcely have satisfied a dog, but we must incontestably, and indeed principally, regard as such, the cruel withholding from him of the most ordinary donations, which nature with a liberal hand extends even to the most indigent;—the depriving him of all the means of mental development and culture,—the unnatural detention of a human soul in a state of irrational animality. With this crime concurs, objectively—

II. The crime of *exposure*: which, according to Stgb. Thl. 1 Art. 174, may be committed not only in regard to infants, but also in regard to grown up persons whom sickness or other infirmities render unable to help themselves; among which class of persons, Caspar, on account of the state of animal stupidity and of inability to see with his eyes open, or even to walk in an upright position with safety, in which he then was, must undoubtedly be reckoned. The crime of Caspar's exposition is also aggravated by the consideration of the danger to which it exposed his life. His situation, both in respect to his mind and his body, exposed him evidently to the danger, either of falling into the river Pzegnitz, which was very near to the place of his exposure, or of being run down by carriages or horses. If a particular crime, affecting the mental powers, or, as it might more properly be designated, affecting the life of a human soul, were known to the criminal code of Bavaria; this crime would, in

forming a juridical estimate of this case, when compared with the crime of illegal imprisonment, assume the place of the highest importance; nay, the latter crime would vanish in comparison with the first, as infinitely the greater of the two, and it would be absorbed by it.¹⁸ The deprivation of external liberty, though in itself an irreparable injury, bears yet no comparison with the injury done to this unhappy being, by depriving him of the incalculable sum of inestimable benefits which can never be restored to him, and which, by the robbery committed upon his freedom, and the mode and manner in which it was committed, were either entirely withdrawn from him, or destroyed, and his means of enjoying them miserably crippled for the remainder of his life. Such a crime does not merely affect the external corporeal appearance of man, but the inmost essence of his spiritual being; it is the iniquity of a murderous robbery perpetrated upon the very sanctuary of his rational nature. When some authors designate such a crime merely by the predicate of a robbery of the intellect (*noochiria*), as Titmann,¹⁹ and make that which constitutes the essential condition of its existence, to consist in actually effecting a deprivation of intellect, or in causing insanity; Caspar Hauser's case furnishes an instance, which may convince them, that their conception of this crime is far too limited, and that a legislator, who should desire to render his system more complete, by the exhibition of such a genus of crimes, ought to assume a more elevated and more extensive point of view. The confinement which Caspar suffered in his infancy produced neither idiocy nor insanity; for, since the recovery of his liberty, as we shall see more particularly hereafter, he has emerged from the mere animal state; his mind has been developed, and he may now, with certain limitations, be considered as a rational, intelligent, civilized, and moral man. Yet no one can help perceiving, that it is the criminal invasion of the life of his soul,—that it is the iniquity perpetrated against the higher principles of his spiritual nature, which presents the most revolting aspect of the crime committed against him. An attempt, by artificial contrivances to exclude a man from nature and from all intercourse with rational beings, to change the course of his human destiny, and to withdraw from him all

¹⁸ The conception that a crime may be absorbed by the commission of a greater crime, is familiar to German writers on criminal jurisprudence. If a person found guilty of petty larceny, were also found guilty of murder, it is evident that the punishment of death incurred by the second crime, would render it impossible to inflict the punishment of imprisonment incurred by the first; which, by suspending his execution, would act rather as a reprieve than as a punishment. The first crime would therefore remain unpunished; its punishment, being, as it were, absorbed by the punishment of the second crime. (Feuerbach)

¹⁹ Handbuch der Strafrechtswissenschaft, Thl. I, Art. 179. (Feuerbach)

the nourishment afforded by those spiritual substances which nature has appointed for food to the human mind, that it may grow and flourish, and be instructed, and developed, and formed;—such an attempt must, considered even quite independently of its actual consequences, be, in itself, a highly criminal invasion of man's most sacred and most peculiar property,—the freedom and the destiny of his soul. But, above all, the following consideration must be added to the rest. Caspar, having been sunk during the whole of the earlier part of his life in animal sleep, has passed through this extensive and beautiful part of it, without having lived through it. His existence was, during all this time, similar to that of a person really dead; in having slept through his youthful years, they have passed by him, without his having had them in his possession; because he was rendered unable to become conscious of their existence. This chasm, which crime has torn in his life, cannot any more be filled up; that time, in which he omitted to live, can never be brought back, that it may yet be lived through; that juvenility, which fled while his soul was asleep, can never be overtaken. How long soever he may live, he must forever remain a man without childhood and boyhood; a monstrous being, who, contrary to the usual course of nature, only began to live in the middle of his life. Inasmuch as the whole earlier part of his life was thus taken from him, he may be said to have been the subject of a partial soul-murder. The deed done to Caspar differs from the crime that would be committed by one who should plunge a man of sound intellect, at a later period, into a state of stupid idiocy, unconsciousness, or irrationality, only in respect to the different epoch of life at which the blow of soul-murder was struck: in one instance, the life of a human soul was mutilated at its commencement; in the other it would be mutilated at its close. Besides, one of the chief momenta, which ought not to be overlooked, is this: since childhood and boyhood are given and destined by nature for the development and perfection of our mental as well as our corporeal life, and since nature overleaps nothing, the consequence of Caspar's having come into the world as a child, at the age of early manhood, is, that the different states of life which in other men are formed and developed gradually, have in him, both now and for ever, been, as it were, displaced and improperly joined together. Having commenced the life of infancy at the age of physical maturity, he will, throughout all his life, remain, as regards his mind, less forward than his age, and, as regards his age, more forward than his mind. Mental and physical life, which in the regular course of their natural development go hand in hand, have, therefore, in respect to Caspar, been, as it were, separated, and placed in an unnatural opposition

with each other. Because he *slept* through his childhood, that childhood could not be *lived* through by him at its proper time; it therefore still remains to be lived through by him; and, it consequently follows him into his later years, not as a smiling genius, but as the affrighting spectre, which is constantly intruding upon him at an unseasonable hour. If, besides all this, we take into consideration the devastation which the fate of his earlier youth, as will more fully be seen hereafter, has occasioned in his mind, it must appear evident, from the instance here given, that the conception of a robbery committed upon the intellect, does by no means exhaust the conception of a crime committed against the life of the soul.

What other crimes may, perhaps, yet lie concealed behind the iniquity committed against Caspar? What were the ends which Hauser's secret imprisonment was intended to subserve?—To answer these questions, would lead us too far either into the airy regions of conjecture, or within certain confines which will not admit of such an exposure to the light.²⁰

This crime, which, in the history of human atrocities is still almost unheard of, presents to the learned judge, as well as to the juridical physician, yet another very remarkable aspect. Scrutinies and judgments concerning certain states of mind, regard commonly only the criminal himself; inasmuch as their only end is to ascertain whether his actions are imputable to him or not. But here an instance is given of a most extraordinary and, in its kind, exclusively singular case, in which the matter of fact that is to prove the existence of a crime, lies almost entirely concealed within a human soul; where it can be investigated and established only by means of inquiries purely psychological, and founded upon observations, indicating certain states of the thinking and sentient mind of the person injured. Even of the history of this deed, we have as yet no other knowledge, than that which we have received from the narration given of it by him to whom it was done: yet, the truth of this narration is warranted by the personality of the narrator himself; upon whose thinking and sentient mind (*Geist urd Gemüth*)—as we shall see more particularly hereafter—the deed itself, is written in visible and legible characters. No other being than one who has experienced and suffered what Caspar has, can be what Caspar is; and he whose being indicates what Caspar does, must have lived in a state such as that in which Caspar says that he lived.²¹ And thus we see an instance, in which our esti-

²⁰ Here we have Feuerbach's first hint of his belief of Hauser's descent from the royal family (*Fürstenhause*) of Baden. (Pies)

²¹ In my opinion this is the chief point of the whole. Therefore it is of great importance to hear about it from the eye-witnesses, their impressions and the observations which they have made on him. (Pies)

mation of the degree of credit which we are to give to the narrator of an almost incredible occurrence, is made to rest almost altogether upon psychological grounds. But the evidence furnished in this instance upon such grounds, outweighs that of any other proof. Witnesses may lie, documents may be falsified; but no other human being, except indeed he were a magician armed with a certain portion of omnipotence and omniscience, is able to produce a lie of such a nature, that, in which soever aspect you may present it to the light, it shall appear, in all of them, as the purest and most uncontaminated truth, as the very personification of truth itself. Whoever should doubt Caspar's narration, must doubt Caspar's person. But, such a sceptic might with equal reason be permitted to doubt whether a person, bleeding from a hundred wounds, and convulsed before his eyes with the agonies of death, was really a wounded and dying man, or was only acting the part of a wounded and dying man. Yet we must not anticipate the reader's judgment; my exhibition of Caspar's person has only just commenced.

(Caspar Hauser)

CHAPTER V

Caspar had been already considerably more than a month at Nuremberg, when, among the latest novelties of the day, I heard of this foundling. No official accounts of this occurrence had yet been received by the highest authorities of the province; it was therefore only as a private individual, and from a general regard to the interests of humanity and of science, that I went to Nuremberg on the 11th of July, 1828, in order to examine this most extraordinary and singular phenomenon. Caspar's abode was at that time still in the Luginsland at the Vestner-gate, where every body was admitted who desired to see him. In fact, from morning to night, Caspar attracted scarcely fewer visitors than the kangaroo, or the tame hyena in the celebrated menagerie of M. von Aken. I therefore also proceeded thither, in company with Col. von D——, two ladies and two children; and we fortunately arrived there at an hour when no other visitors happened to be present. Caspar's abode was in a small but cleanly and light room, the windows of which opened upon an extensive and pleasant prospect. We found him with his feet bare, clothed, besides his shirt, only with a pair of old trousers. The walls of his chamber had been decorated by Caspar as high as he could reach, with sheets of coloured pictures. He stuck them to the wall, every morning anew, with his saliva, which was, at that time, as tough as glue;¹ and, as soon as it became twilight, he took them down again, and laid them together by his side. In a corner of the fixed bench, which extended around the room, was his bed, which consisted of a bag of straw, with a pillow and blanket. The whole of the remaining part of the bench was thickly covered with a variety of play-things, with hundreds of leaden soldiers, wooden dogs, horses, and other toys, such as are commonly manufactured at Nuremberg. They had al-

¹ The saliva was so very gluey that in taking these sheets down, parts of them sometimes adhered to the wall and sometimes parts of the plastering of the wall adhered to the paper. (Feuerbach)

ready ceased to occupy much of his attention during the day; yet he was at no little trouble to gather carefully together all these trifles, and all their trifling appurtenances, every evening; to unpack them, as soon as he awoke, and to place them in a certain order, in rows along-side of each other. The benevolent feelings of the kind inhabitants of Nuremberg had also induced them to present him with various articles of wearing apparel, which he kept under his pillow, and displayed to us with a childish pleasure not unmingled with some little vanity. Upon the bench there lay, mingled with these playthings, several pieces of money, to which, however he paid no attention. From these, I took a soiled crown piece, and a quite new piece of twenty-four kreutzers² in my hand, and asked him which of these he liked best? He chose the small shining one; he said the larger one was ugly, and he regarded it with a look expressive of aversion. When I endeavoured to make him understand that the larger piece was, nevertheless, the more valuable of the two, and that he could get more pretty things for it than for the smaller one, he listened indeed attentively, and assumed, for some time, a thoughtful stare; but at length he told me, that he did not know what I meant.

When we entered into his apartment, he showed nothing like shyness or timidity; on the contrary, he met us with confidence, and seemed to be rejoiced at our visit. He first of all noticed the Colonel's bright uniform, and he could not cease to admire his helmet, which glittered with gold; then the coloured dresses of the ladies attracted his attention; as for myself, being dressed in a modest black frock coat, I was at first scarcely honoured with a single glance. Each of us placed himself separately before him and mentioned to him his name and title. Whenever any person was thus introduced, Caspar went up very close to him, regarded him with a sharp staring look, noticed every particular part of his face, as his forehead, eyes, nose, mouth, chin, &c. successively, with a penetrating rapid glance, and as I could distinctly perceive, at the very last, he collected all the different parts of the countenance which at first he had gathered separately and piece by piece, into one whole. He then repeated the name of the person as it had been mentioned to him. And now he knew the person; and, as experience afterwards proved, he knew him for ever. He averted his eyes, as much as possible, from every glare of light, and he most carefully avoided the rays of the sun which entered directly through the window. When such a ray accidentally struck his eye, he winked very much, wrinkled his forehead, and evidently showed that he was in pain. His

²A crown piece is about the size of a Spanish dollar, and a piece of twenty-four kreutzers, about the size of a quarter of a dollar. (Linberg)

eyes were also much inflamed, and he betrayed in every respect the greatest sensibility of the effects of light.

Although his face became afterwards perfectly regular, yet at that time a striking difference was perceptible between the left and the right side of it. The first was perceptibly drawn awry and distorted, and convulsive spasms frequently passed over it like flashes of lightning. By these spasms the whole left side of his body, and particularly his arm and hand, were visibly affected.

If any thing was shown to him which excited his curiosity, if any word was spoken which struck his attention, or was unintelligible to him, these spasms immediately made their appearance, and they were generally succeeded by a kind of nervous rigidity. He then stood motionless; not a muscle of his face moved, his eyes remained wide open without winking, and assumed a lifeless stare; he appeared, like a statue, to be unable to see, to hear, or to be excited to any living movement by external impressions. This state was observable whenever he was meditating upon any thing, whenever he was seeking the conception corresponding to any new word, or the word corresponding to any new thing, or whenever he endeavoured to connect any thing that was unknown to him with something that he knew, in order to render the first conceivable to him by means of the latter.³

His enunciation of words which he knew, was plain and determinate, without hesitating or stammering. But coherent speech was not yet to be expected from him, and his language was as indigent as his stock of ideas. It was therefore also extremely difficult to become intelligible to him. Scarcely had you uttered a few sentences which he appeared to understand, when you found that something was mingled with them which was foreign to him, and if he wished to understand it, his spasms immediately returned. In all that he said, the conjunctions, participles, and adverbs were still almost entirely wanting; his conjugation embraced little more than the infinitive; and he was most of all deficient in respect to his syntax, which was in a state of miserable confusion. "Caspar very well," instead of, I am very well; "Caspar shall July tell," instead of, I shall tell it to Julius (the son of the prison-keeper); such were his common modes of expressing himself. The pronoun I occurred very rarely; he generally spoke of himself in the third person, calling himself Caspar. In the same manner, he also spoke to others in the third person instead of the second; for instance, in speaking to a colonel or a lady, instead of saying you, he

³ Similar things to this and the following are told by numerous eye-witnesses. Compare particularly Daumer in similar details. (Pies). Pies: *op. cit.*, Volume I, p. 137 ff.

would say colonel or lady such a one, using the verb in the third person. Thus also, in speaking to him, if you wished him immediately to understand who you meant, you must not say *you* to him, but Caspar.⁴ The same word was often used by him in different significations, which occasioned ludicrous mistakes. Many words which signify only a particular species, would be applied by him to the whole genus. Thus, for instance, he would use the word hill or mountain, as if it applied to every protuberance or elevation; and in consequence thereof, he once called a corpulent gentleman, whose name he could not recollect, "the man with the great mountain." A lady, the end of whose shawl he once saw dragging on the floor, he called "the lady with the beautiful tail."

It may be supposed, that I did not omit, by various questions, to obtain from him some account of his past life. But all that I could draw from him was so confused and so undeterminate a jargon, that, being yet unaccustomed to his manner of speaking, I could mostly only guess what he meant, while much remained that was utterly unintelligible to me.

It appeared to me not unimportant to make some trial of his taste in respect to different colours; he shewed that, also, in this particular, he was of the same mind as children and so-called savages. The red colour,⁵ and indeed the most glaring red, was preferred by him to every other; the yellow he disliked, excepting when it struck the sight as shining gold, in which case his choice wavered between this colour and the glaring red; white was indifferent to him, but green appeared to him almost as detestable as black. This taste, and particularly his predilection for the red colour, he retained, as Professor Daumer's later observations prove, long after the cultivation of his mind had very considerably advanced. If the choice had been given him, he would have clothed himself, and all for whom he had a regard, from head to foot in scarlet or purple. The appearance of nature, green being the principal colour of her garment, gave him no delight. She could appear beautiful to him only when viewed through a red-coloured glass. With Professor Daumer's dwelling, to which shortly after my visit he was removed from the Lugisland, he was not much pleased; because the only prospect that he had there was into the garden, where he saw nothing but ugly trees and plants, as he called them. On the contrary, he was particularly pleased with the dwelling of one of his preceptor's friends, which was situated in a narrow unpleasant street, because opposite to, and round about it, nothing was to be seen

⁴ Also Prof. Daumer's observations agree with this. (Feuerbach)

⁵ Red was the favorite color of Kamala, the elder of the wolf-children of Midnapore. (Zingg)

but houses beautifully painted red. When a tree full of red apples was shown him, he expressed much satisfaction at seeing it; yet he thought that it would have been still more beautiful if its leaves also were as red as the fruit. Seeing a person once drinking red wine, he expressed a wish that he, who drank nothing but water, could also drink things which appeared so beautiful.

There was but one advantage more which he wished that his favourite animals, horses, possessed. It was, that instead of being black, bay, or white, their colour were scarlet. The curiosity, the thirst for knowledge, and the inflexible perseverance with which he fixed his attention to any thing that he was determined to learn or comprehend, surpassed every thing that can be conceived of them; and the manner in which they were expressed was truly affecting. It has already been stated, that he no longer employed himself in the day-time with his playthings; his hours throughout the day were successively occupied with writing, with drawing, or with other instructive employments in which Professor Daumer engaged him. Bitterly did he complain to us, that the great number of people who visited him left him no time to learn any thing. It was very affecting to hear his often-repeated lamentation, that the people in the world knew so much, and that there were so very many things which he had not yet learnt. Next to writing, drawing was his favourite occupation, for which he evinced a great capacity joined with equal perseverance. For several days past he had undertaken the task of copying a lithographical print of the burghermaster Binder. A large packet of quarter sheets had already been filled with the copies which he had drawn; they were arranged in a long series, in the order in which they had been produced. I examined each of them separately; the first attempts resembled exactly the pictures drawn by little children, who imagine that they have drawn a face when they have scratched upon the paper something meant to represent an oval figure, with a few long and cross strokes. Yet in almost every one of the succeeding attempts, some improvements were distinctly visible; so that these lines began more and more to resemble a human countenance, and finally represented the original, though still in a crude and imperfect manner, yet so that their resemblance to it might be recognised. I expressed my approbation of some of his last attempts; but he shewed that he was not satisfied, and insinuated that he should be obliged to draw the picture a great many times before it would be drawn as it ought to be, and then he would make it a present to the burghermaster.

With his life in the world he appeared to be by no means satisfied; he longed to go back to "the man with whom he had always been." At home,

(in his hole,) he said, he had never suffered so much from headache, and had never been so much teased as since he was in the world. By this, he alluded to the unpleasant and painful sensations which were occasioned by the many new impressions to which he was totally unaccustomed, and by a great variety of smells which were disagreeable to him, &c.; as well as to the numerous visits of those who came to see him from curiosity, to their incessant questioning of him, and to some of their inconsiderate and not very humane experiments. He had therefore no fault to find with "the man with whom he had always been," except that he had not yet come to take him back again, and that he had never shewn him or told him anything of so many beautiful things which are in the world. He is willing to remain in Nuremberg, until he has learnt what the burgher-master and the professor (Daumer) know; but then the burgher-master must take him home, and then he will show the man what he has learnt in the meantime. When I expressed my surprize that he should wish to return to that abominably bad man; he replied with mild indignation, "Man not bad, man me no bad done." Of his astonishing memory, which is as quick as it is tenacious, he gave us the most striking proofs. In noticing any of the numerous things, whether small or great, which were in his possession, he was able to mention the name and the title of the person who had given it to him; and if several persons were to be mentioned, whose surnames were alike, he distinguished them accurately, by their Christian names, or by other marks of distinction. About an hour after we had seen him, we met him again in the street, it being about the time when he was conducted to the burgher-master's. We addressed him; and when we asked him whether he could recollect our names? he mentioned, without the least hesitation, the full name of every one of the company, together with all our titles, which must, nevertheless, have appeared to him as unintelligible nonsense. His physician, Dr. Osterhausen, observed, on a different occasion, that when a nosegay had been given him, and he had been told the names of all the different flowers of which it was composed, he recognised, several days afterwards, every one of these flowers, and he was able to tell the name of each of them. But the strength of his memory decreased afterwards, precisely in proportion as it was enriched, and as the labour of his understanding was increased.⁶ His obedience to all those persons who had acquired paternal authority over him, particularly

⁶ Daumer refers Hauser's reduction in memory and other sensory abilities to his later customary meat diet. This is a prime rule of vegetarianism, that meatless diet and natural way of living makes the blood cleaner and raises the spiritual faculties of the individual. (Pies)

to the burghermaster, Professor Daumer, and the prison-keeper, Hiltel, was unconditional and boundless. That the burghermaster, or the professor, had said so, was to him a reason for doing or omitting to do any thing, which was final and totally exclusive of all further questions and considerations. When once I asked him, Why he thought himself obliged always to yield such punctual obedience? he replied, "The man with whom I always was, taught me that I must do as I am bidden."⁷ Yet, in his opinion, this submission to the authority of others, referred only to what he was to do or not to do, and it had no connexion whatever with his knowing, believing, and judging. Before he could acknowledge any thing to be certain and true, it was necessary that he should be convinced; and, indeed, that he should be convinced, either by the intuition of his senses, or by some reasoning adapted to his powers of comprehension, and to the scanty requirements of his almost vacant mind, as to appear to him to be striking. Whenever it was impossible to reach his understanding by any of these ways, he did not, indeed, contradict the assertion made, but he would leave the matter undecided, until, as he used to say, he had learned more. I spoke to him, among other things, of the impending winter, and I told him that the roofs of the houses, and the streets of the city, would then be all white—as white as the walls of his chamber. He said that this would be very pretty; but he plainly insinuated that he should not believe it before he had seen it. The next winter, when the first snow fell, he expressed great joy that the streets, the roofs, and the trees, had now been so well painted, and he went quickly down into the yard, to fetch some of the white paint; but he soon ran to his preceptor with all his fingers stretched out, crying, and blubbering, and bawling out, "that the white paint had bit his hand."

A most surprising and inexplicable property of this young man, was his love of order and cleanliness, which he even carried to the extreme of pedantry. Of the many hundreds of trifles of which his little household consisted, each had its appropriate place, was properly packed, carefully folded, symmetrically arranged, &c.⁸ Uncleanliness, or whatever he con-

⁷ Here one has an example of how Feuerbach, not used to Hauser's way of talking (such as that above), has misunderstood Hauser's confused and tangled uncertain reply to the questions directed to him. For how should this unknown man with whom he had always been, ever have taught the animal-stupid conceptionless Hauser? This statement of Feuerbach has caused many controversies, which are referred to later on. (Pies)

⁸ v. Tucher tells (Daumer, 1873, p. 121 ff): "People had given him many toys. These he ordered before him in the neatest manner, and were arranged quite cleverly. Every morning he spread them out in this way and every evening, as soon as he wanted to go to sleep, he packed everything together, as if this arrangement could not exist if he could not be there himself." (Pies)

sidered as such, whether in his own person or in others, was an abomination to him. He observed almost every grain of dust upon our clothes; and when he once saw a few grains of snuff on my frill, he shewed them to me, briskly indicating that he wished me to wipe those nasty things away.

The most remarkable fact of experience in respect to him, which I learnt, but which was not fully explained to me until several years afterwards, was the result of the following experiment, which was suggested to me by a very obvious association of ideas, leading me to compare what was observable in Caspar, who had not come forth from his dark dungeon to the light of day before the age of early manhood, with the well-known account, given by Cheselden, of a young man who had become blind but a few days after his birth, and who, in consequence of a successful operation, had been restored to sight nearly at the same age.

I directed Caspar to look out of the window, pointing to the wide and extensive prospect of a beautiful landscape, that presented itself to us in all the glory of summer; and I asked him whether what he saw was not very beautiful. He obeyed; but he instantly drew back, with visible horror, exclaiming, "Ugly! ugly!" and then pointing to the white wall of his chamber, he said "There are not ugly." To my question, Why it was ugly? no other reply was made, but "Ugly! ugly!" and thus, nothing remained, for the present, for me to do, but to take care to preserve this circumstance in my memory, and to expect its explanation at the time when Caspar should be better able to express what he meant to say. That his turning away from the prospect pointed at could not be sufficiently accounted for, by the painful impression made upon his optic nerve by the light, appeared to me to be evident. For his countenance at this time did not so much express pain as horror and dismay. Besides, he stood at some distance from the window, by the side of it, so that although he could see the prospect pointed at, yet, in looking at it, he could not be exposed to the impression made by rays of light entering directly into the window. When Caspar, afterwards, in 1831, spent some weeks with me, at my own house, where I had continual opportunities of observing him accurately, and of completing and correcting the results of former observations, I took an opportunity of conversing with him respecting this occurrence. I asked him whether he remembered my visit to him at the tower; and whether he could particularly recollect the circumstance, that I had asked him how he liked the prospect from his window, and that he had turned from it with horror, and had repeatedly exclaimed, "Ugly! ugly!" and I then asked him, why he had done so? and what had then

appeared to him? To which he replied, "Yes, indeed, what I then saw was very ugly. For when I looked at the window it always appeared to me as if a window-shutter had been placed close before my eyes, upon which a wall-painter had splattered the contents of his different brushes, filled with white, blue, green, yellow, and red paint, all mingled together. Single things, as I now see things, I could not at that time recognise and distinguish from each other. This was shocking to look at; and besides, it made me feel anxious and uneasy; because it appeared to me as if my window had been closed up with this parti-coloured shutter, in order to prevent me from looking out into the open air. That what I then saw were fields, hills, and houses; that many things which at that time appeared to me much larger, were, in fact, much smaller, while many other things that appeared smaller, were, in reality, larger than other things, is a fact of which I was afterwards convinced by the experience gained during my walks; at length I no longer saw any thing more of the shutter." To other questions, he replied, that in the beginning he could not distinguish between what was really round or triangular, and what was only painted as round or triangular. The men and horses represented on sheets of pictures, appeared to him precisely as the men and horses that were carved in wood; the first as round as the latter, or these as flat as those. But he said, that, in the packing and unpacking of his things, he had soon felt a difference; and that afterwards, it had seldom happened to him to mistake the one for the other.

Here, then, we behold, in Caspar, a living instance of Cheselden's blind man who had recovered his sight. Let us hear what Voltaire,⁹ or Diderot,¹⁰ who, in this instance, may pass for the same person, has said of this blind person.¹¹ "The young man whose cataracts were couched by this skilful surgeon, did not for a long time distinguish either magnitudes, distances, or even figures from each other. An object of an inch in size, which, when placed before his eyes, concealed a house from his view, appeared to him as large as that house. All objects were present to his eye, and appeared to him to be applied to that organ, as objects of touch are applied to the skin. He could not distinguish, by his sight, what by the aid of his hands he had judged to be round, from what he had judged to be angular; nor could he, by means of his eyes, discern whether what, by his feelings, he had perceived to be above or below, was, in fact, above or

⁹ In his *Philosophie de Newton* (*Oeuvres complètes* Gotha, 1786, T. xxxi, p. 118). (Feuerbach)

¹⁰ *Lettres sur les aveugles à l'usage de ceux qui voyent* (Londres, 1759) p. 149-169. Diderot has copied Voltaire's account verbatim. (Feuerbach)

¹¹ The author was unable to obtain Cheselden's original work. (Feuerbach)

below. He attained, though not without some difficulty, to a perception, that his house was larger than his chamber; but he could never conceive, how the eye could give him this information. Many repeated facts of experience were required, in order to satisfy him that paintings represented solid bodies; and when, by dint of looking at pictures, he was convinced that what he saw before him were not merely surfaces, he felt them with his hands, and was then much surprised to find only a plain surface without any projection. He then would ask which of his senses deceived him, his touch or his sight? Painting has, however, sometimes produced the same effect upon savages the first time that they saw it: they took painted figures for living men, interrogated them, and were quite astonished to find that they received no answer; an error which in them could certainly not have proceeded from their being unaccustomed to the sight of visible objects."

To little children also, during the first weeks or months after their birth, every thing appears equally near. They will extend their little hands to reach the glittering ball of a distant steeple, and they know neither how to distinguish things that are actually great or small, from things that are apparently so, nor how to distinguish real from painted objects. For in respect to objects both of the sight and of the touch, it is necessary that both of these senses should mutually assist each other, in order to enable us to recognise them for what they really are. The explanation of this fact of experience depends upon the elementary law of all vision; regarding which the great English philosopher, Berkley, has expressed himself in the following manner: "It is, I think, agreed by all, that distance, of itself, and immediately, cannot be seen. For distance being a line directed end-wise to the eye, it projects only one point at the bottom of the eye. Which point remains invariably the same, whether the distance be longer or shorter.—I find it also acknowledged that the estimate we make of the distance of objects considerably remote, is rather an act of judgment grounded on experience, than of sense. For example: When I perceive a great number of intermediate objects, such as houses, fields, rivers, and the like, which I have experienced, to take up a considerable space; I thence form a judgment or conclusion, that the object I see beyond them is at a great distance. Again, when an object appears faint and small, which at a near distance I have experienced to make a vigorous and large appearance, I instantly conclude it to be far off. And this, it is evident, is the result of experience; without which, from the faintness and littleness, I should not have inferred any thing concerning the distance of objects."

The application of this law of optics, and of those facts, in explaining

the delusion of the senses which Caspar experienced, is obvious. As Caspar had never before been accustomed to walk further than from the tower to the burghermaster's house, or, perhaps, through one or two streets more; as, in consequence of the irritability of his eyes, and of his fear of falling, he always looked down at his feet,¹² and as, on account of his sensibility of the light, he always avoided looking out into the vast ocean of light around him, he had, for a length of time, no opportunity of gaining experience concerning the perspective and the distances of visible objects. All the numerous things in the country at which he was looking, which, together with a comparatively small portion of the blue sky, filled the aperture between the upper and lower window frame, must, therefore, have presented themselves to him as a great variety of formless and equally distant phenomena, arranged the one above the other. Hence the whole must have been viewed by him as an upright table, upon which numerous and differently coloured objects of different sizes, had assumed the appearance of shapeless and parti-coloured blots.¹³

¹² See p. 306, at fn. 14.

¹³ According to Daumer (Daumer 73, p. 15 ff.): "This description of Feuerbach is noted by Prof. Preyer of Jena in his book *Die Fünf Sinne des Menschen*, Leipzig, 1870: 'This simple report is extraordinarily valuable. It shows strikingly how ideas of space are built up, first, slowly by experience being founded on judgment of differences of perception; it shows further the powerful influence of tactile sensation for the development of ideas of space. Finally it shows that conceptions of color already exist clearly before there can be conceptions of perspective. My numerous observations on little children, which completely agree with this report on Caspar Hauser, prove that the distinction of colors is made with certainty, while distinctions in size are always taken wrong.' " Daumer continues: "So modern science judges."

On the other hand Meyer, the "negative critic" declares the whole thing to be a mystification founded on the "lying talents" that Hauser permitted himself. He says: "Probably the not only wily, but also learned fellow knew the case of the operation on the blind man done by Cheselden, and made use of it to deceive the president (Feuerbach) with the quite probable fairytale, and also to make himself interesting to scientists." (Pies). This is a typical sort of argument of the negative critics, who end by saying that he committed suicide in order to stir up more interest in himself. (Zingg)

(Caspar Hauser)

CHAPTER VI

Though Caspar Hauser's almost constant and uninterrupted intercourse with the numerous individuals who thronged to him at all hours of the day, was unquestionably attended with the advantage of making him acquainted, in a short and easy manner, with a great variety of things and words, and of thus enabling him to make a very rapid progress in learning how to speak with others and to understand them; yet it is equally certain, that the heterogeneous influence of mingled masses of individuals to which he was thus constantly exposed, was by no means well adapted to promote an orderly development of this neglected youth, in agreement with the regular course of nature. It is true, that perhaps not an hour of the day was permitted to pass, which did not, in some way or other, furnish new materials for the formation of his mind. But it was impossible for the materials thus collected to assume the form and figure even of the most inconsiderable organic whole. All was mingled together in one disorderly, scattered, and parti-coloured mass of hundreds and thousands of partial representations and fragments of thought, huddled together, above and below, and by the sides of each other, without any apparent connexion or design. If thus the vacant tablets of his mind were soon enough superscribed, they were at the same time, but too soon filled and disfigured with things which, in part, at least, were worthless and prejudicial. The unaccustomed impressions of the light and of the free air; the strange and often painful minglings of diverse excitatives which continually flowed in upon his senses; the effort to which his mind was constantly stimulated by his thirst for knowledge, labouring, as it were, to go beyond itself, to fasten upon, to devour, and to absorb into itself, whatsoever was new to him,—but all was new to him—all this was more than his feeble body, and delicate, yet constantly excited, and even over excited, nerves could bear. From my first visit to Caspar on the 11th of July, I brought with me the fullest conviction, which in its proper place I also endeav-

oured to impress upon the minds of others,¹ that Caspar Hauser must needs either die of a nervous fever, or be visited with some attack of insanity or idiocy, if some change was not speedily made in his situation. In a few days my apprehensions were partly justified by what actually occurred. Caspar Hauser became sick: at least, he became so unwell, that a dangerous illness was feared. The official statement of his physician, Dr. Osterhausen's opinion,² which, on this occasion, was sent by him to the magistracy of the city, was to the following effect:

"The multifarious impressions which all at once rushed upon Caspar Hauser, after he had for years been buried alive in a dungeon, where he lived secluded from all mankind, and left to himself alone, and which did not operate upon him singly and successively, but in a mass and altogether; the heterogeneous impressions made upon him by the free air, by the light, and by the objects which surrounded him, all of which were new to him; the awakening of his mental individuality, his desire of learning and of knowing, as well as the change that was made in his manner of living, &c.; the operation of all these causes, could but produce effects which would powerfully shake, and finally injure, the health of a person possessing so very great a share of nervous sensibility.—When I saw him again, I found him totally changed; he was melancholy, very much dejected, and greatly enfeebled. There appeared to exist a morbid elevation of his nervous excitability. The muscles of his face were affected with frequent spasms. His hands trembled so much that he was scarcely able to hold any thing. His eyes were inflamed, they could not bear the light, and they gave him considerable pain when he attempted to read or to look at any object attentively. His hearing was so sensitive, that all loud speaking caused him violent pain; so that he could no longer endure the sound of music, of which he had heretofore been so passionately fond. He lost his appetite, became costive, complained of unpleasant sensations in his abdomen, and upon the whole, he felt very unwell.—I felt very uneasy on account of the state of his health, and particularly so, partly because his unconquerable aversion to any thing but bread and water renders it impossible to administer medicines to him, and partly because it is to be feared, that even the most inactive remedies might operate too powerfully upon him in the present highly excited state of his nerves."

On the 18th of July, Caspar Hauser was released from his abode in the

¹ At Feuerbach's urging in speaking with the Regierungspräsidenten v. Mieg, Hauser was sent to Daumer's house. (Pies)

The medical recommendations still also exist in the Hauser archives, except those of the magistrate's records, which were lost. (Pies)

tower, and was committed to the domestic care and superintendence of Mr. Daumer, a professor of a Gymnasium, distinguished equally for the excellent qualities of his mind and of his heart, who now took upon himself entirely the care of his education, and who had also hitherto paid a fatherly attention to his instruction, and to the formation of his mind. In the family of this man, consisting of the worthy mother and sister of his instructor, he found in a manner compensation for the loss of those beings whom nature had given him, and of whom the wickedness of man had deprived him.

We may form some conception of the multitude of persons to whose curiosity Caspar Hauser was exposed, from the circumstance, that the magistracy of Nuremberg found it necessary, as soon as Caspar had been committed to the care of Professor Daumer, to insert the following notice in the public journals:

"The homeless Caspar Hauser, has, in order to promote the development of the powers of his mind and body, been committed, by the magistracy of the city of Nuremberg, to the care of a particular instructor, who is well qualified to undertake that office. That both of them may be freed from any interruption in the pursuit of this object, and that Caspar Hauser may be able to enjoy that tranquillity, which in every respect he so much needs, his instructor has been directed, not to admit of any more visits to Hauser for the future.

"The public in general, are therefore hereby duly informed thereof; so that all may avoid the mortification of being refused admittance to him: and it is also notified, that pertinacious importunity in insisting upon admittance to him, will, if necessary, be resisted by the assistance of the police."³

At Professor Daumer's, Caspar Hauser was for the first time furnished, instead of the bag of straw upon which he had lain in the town, with a proper bed, with which he seemed exceedingly pleased. He would often say, that his bed was the only pleasant thing that he had met with in the world; every thing else was very bad indeed.—It was only after he slept in a bed, that he began to have dreams. Yet these he did not at first recog-

³ This notice nevertheless did not entirely produce the desired effect. As few strangers visit Nuremberg without going to see the grave of St. Sebaldus, the paintings on glass in the church of St. Lawrence, &c., so no one at that time, thought that he had fully seen the curiosities of Nuremberg, who had omitted to see the mysterious adopted child of that city. From the time of Caspar's arrival at Nuremberg, to the present moment, many hundreds of persons of almost all European nations, of every rank,—scholars, artists, statesmen, and officers of every description, as well as noble and princely personages,—have seen and spoken with him. (Feuerbach)

nise as dreams, but related them to his instructor, when he awoke, as real occurrences. It was only at a later period that he learned to perceive the differences between waking and dreaming.⁴

One of the most difficult undertakings was to accustom him to the use of ordinary food, and this could be accomplished only by slow degrees, with much trouble and great caution.⁵ The first that he was willing to take, was water gruel; which he learned to relish daily more and more, and on this account he imagined that it was every day made better and better; so that he would ask, what was the reason that it had not been made so good at first? ⁶ Also all kinds of food prepared from meal, flour, and pulse, and whatever else bore a resemblance to bread, began soon to agree with him. At length, he was gradually accustomed to eat meat, by mixing at first only a few drops of gravy with his gruel, and a few threads of the muscular fibres of meat, of which the juices had been well boiled out, with his bread; and by gradually increasing the quantity.

In the notes respecting Caspar Hauser, which Professor Daumer has collected, he has made the following observations: "After he had learned regularly to eat meat, his mental activity was diminished; his eyes lost their brilliancy and expression; his vivid propensity to constant activity was subdued; the intense application of his mind gave way to absence and indifference; and the quickness of his apprehension was also considerably lessened." Whether this was really the effect of his feeding on meat, or whether this bluntness was not rather the consequence of the painful excess of excitement which preceded it, may very justly be questioned. We may, however, conclude, with much greater certainty, that the change of his diet, which was made by accustoming him to warm nourishment and to some animal food, must have had a very perceptible effect upon his growth. In Professor Daumer's house, he grew more than two inches in height in a very few weeks.

As the inflammation of his eyes, and the constant headache, with which every application of his eye-sight was attended, made it impossible for

⁴ These circumstances should not be left unnoticed by those who make the philosophy of the human mind their study; as they afford striking illustrations of the peculiar state of mind in which Caspar was at that time. (Feuerbach)

⁵ Before he became accustomed to warm food, he felt a constant thirst; and he drank daily from ten to twelve quarts of water.* But even yet, he is still a mighty water drinker. (Feuerbach)

* Hauser was always a heavy water-drinker, but the remark of Feuerbach is probably an error. The prison-guard Hiltel, in his testimony, said, "Three times a day, he received fresh water, of which he drank about a quart and a half." (Pies)

⁶ Compare this and what follows with Daumer's account. (Pies) Pies: *op. cit.*, Volume I, p. 137 ff.

him to read, to write, or to draw, Mr. Daumer employed him in making pasteboard work, in which he very soon acquired considerable dexterity. He also taught him to play chess, which he soon learned, and practised with pleasure. Besides this, he was employed in easy gardenwork, and made acquainted with various productions, phenomena, and powers of nature; so that not a single day passed by which did not add something to his knowledge, and make him acquainted with innumerable new objects of surprise, wonder, and admiration.

It required no little pains, and much patience, in correcting his mistakes, in order to teach him the difference between things which are, and such as are not, organized,—between animate and inanimate things; and between voluntary motion, and motion that is communicated from without. Many things which bore the form of men or animals, though cut in stone, carved in wood, or painted, he would still conceive to be animated, and ascribe to them such qualities as he perceived to exist in other animated beings. It appeared strange to him, that horses, unicorns, ostriches, &c., which were hewn or painted upon the walls of houses in the city, remained always stationary, and did not run away. He expressed his indignation against the statue in the garden belonging to the house in which he lived, because, although it was so dirty, yet it did not wash itself. When, for the first time, he saw the great crucifix on the outside of the church of St. Sébaldus, its view affected him with horror and with pain: and he earnestly entreated, that the man who was so dreadfully tormented might be taken down. Nor could he, for a long time, be pacified, although it was explained to him, that it was not any real man, but only an image, which felt nothing. He conceived every motion that he observed to take place in any object, to be a spontaneous effect of life. If a sheet of paper was blown down by the wind, he thought that it had run away from the table; and, if a child's waggon was rolling down a hill, it was, in his opinion, making an excursion for its own amusement. He supposed that a tree manifested its life by moving its twigs and leaves; and its voice was heard in the rustling of its leaves, when they were moved by the wind. He expressed his indignation against a boy who struck the stem of a tree with a small stick, for giving the tree so much pain. To judge from his expressions, the balls of a ninepin alley ran voluntarily along; they hurt other balls when they struck against them, and when they stopped it was because they were tired. Professor Daumer endeavoured for a long time, in vain, to convince him that a ball does not move voluntarily. He succeeded, at length, in doing so, by directing Caspar to make a ball himself, from the crumbs of his bread, and afterwards to roll it along. He was

convinced that a humming-top, which he had long been spinning, did not move voluntarily, only by finding, that, after frequently winding up the cord, his arm began to hurt him; being thus sensibly convinced that he had himself exerted the power which was expended in causing it to move.

To animals, particularly, he for a long time ascribed the same properties as to men; and he appeared to distinguish the one from the other only by the difference of their external form. He was angry with a cat for taking its food only with its mouth, without ever using its hands for that purpose. He wished to teach it to use its paws, and to sit upright. He spoke to it as to a being like himself, and expressed great indignation at its unwillingness to attend to what he said, and to learn from him. On the contrary, he once highly commended the obedience of a certain dog. Seeing a gray cat, he asked, why she did not wash herself, that she might become white. When he saw oxen lying down on the pavement of the street, he wondered why they did not go home and lie down there. If it was replied that such things could not be expected from animals, because they were unable to act thus, his answer was immediately ready: then they ought to learn it; there were so many things which he also was obliged to learn.

Still less had he any conception of the origin and growth of any of the organical productions of nature. He always spoke as if all trees had been stuck into the ground; as if all leaves and flowers were the work of human hands. The first materials of an idea of the origin of plants, were furnished him by his planting, according to the directions of his instructor, a few beans, with his own hands, in a flower-pot; and by his afterwards being made to observe, how they germinated and produced leaves, as it were, under his own eye. But, in general, he was accustomed to ask, respecting almost every production of nature, who made that thing?

Of the beauties of nature he had no perception. Nor did nature seem to interest him otherwise than by exciting his curiosity, and by suggesting the question, who made such a thing? When, for the first time, he saw a rainbow, its view appeared for a few moments to give him pleasure. But he soon turned away from it; and he seemed to be much more interested in the question, who made it? than in the beauty of its apparition.

Yet there was one view which made a remarkable exception from this observation, and which must be regarded as a great, and never-to-be-forgotten incident, in the gradual development of his mental life. It was in the month of August, 1829, when, on a fine summer evening, his instructor showed him, for the first time, the starry heavens. His astonishment and transport surpassed all description. He could not be satiated with its sight, and was ever returning to gaze upon it; at the same time

fixing accurately with his eye the different groups that were pointed out to him, remarking the stars most distinguished for their brightness, and observing the differences of their respective colour. "That," he exclaimed, "is, indeed, the most beautiful sight that I have ever yet seen in the world. But who has placed all these numerous beautiful candles there? who lights them? who puts them out?" When he was told, that like the sun, with which he was already acquainted, they always continue to give light, he asked again; who placed them there above, that they may always continue to give light? At length, standing motionless, with his head bowed down, and his eyes staring, he fell into a train of deep and serious meditation. When he again recovered his recollection, his transport had been succeeded by deep sadness. He sank trembling upon a chair, and asked, why that wicked man had kept him always locked up, and had never shown him any of these beautiful things. He (Casper) had never done any harm. He then broke out into a fit of crying, which lasted for a long time, and which could with difficulty be soothed; and said, that "the man with whom he had always been" may now also be locked up for a few days, that he may learn to know how hard it is to be treated so. Before seeing this beautiful celestial display, Caspar had never shown any thing like indignation against that man; and much less had he ever been willing to hear that he ought to be punished. Only weariness and slumber were able to quiet his sensations; and he did not fall asleep—a thing that had never happened to him before—until it was about 11 o'clock. Indeed, it was in Mr. Daumer's family that he began more and more to reflect upon his unhappy fate, and to become painfully sensible of what had been withheld and taken from him. It was only there, that the ideas of family, of relationship, of friendship,—of those human ties, that bind parents and children and brothers and sisters to each other, were brought home to his feelings; it was only there, that the names mother, sister, and brother were rendered intelligible to him, when he saw how mother, sister, and brother, were reciprocally united to each other by mutual affection, and by mutual endeavours to make each other happy. He would often ask for an explanation of what is meant by mother, by brother, and by sister; and endeavours were made to satisfy him by appropriate answers. Soon after, he was found sitting in his chair, apparently immersed in deep meditations. When he was asked what was now again the matter with him? he replied with tears, "he had been thinking about what was the reason, why *he* had not a mother, a brother and a sister? for it was so very pretty a thing to have them." As a state of perfect rest from all mental exertion was, at that time, particularly indicated by his extreme excitability, and,

as exercise appeared absolutely necessary to strengthen the feeble frame, it was thought that, among other modes of exercise, riding on horseback might be highly beneficial to him, especially as he had taken a great fancy to it. As formerly wooden horses, so now living horses had become his favourites. Of all animals, the horse appeared to him to be the most beautiful creature; and whenever he saw a horseman managing his steed, his heart seemed to dilate with the wish, that he also might have such a horse under him. The riding master at Nuremberg, Mr. Rumpler, had the complaisance to gratify this longing; and he received Caspar among his scholars. Caspar, who with the most intent watchfulness observed everything that was told to him or to the other scholars, had in the first lesson, not only imprinted the principal rules and elements of the art of riding upon his memory, but made them his own; so that in a few days, he had made such progress, that old and young scholars, who had been taking lessons for several months, were obliged to acknowledge, that he was vastly their superior. His seat, his courage, and his correct management of his horse, astonished every one; and he would undertake feats of horsemanship which, besides himself and his riding master, none dared to attempt. Once, when the riding master had been breaking in a fractious Turkish horse, he was so little alarmed at the sight, that he requested permission to ride that horse.⁷ After having exercised himself for some time, the boundaries of the riding school became too narrow for him; he longed to manage his horse in the open air; and here he evinced, besides great dexterity, an inexhaustible endurance, hardihood, and tenacity of body, which could not be equalled, even by those who were most inured to the exercise of riding. He was particularly fond of spirited and hard trotting horses, and he often rode, for many hours together, without intermission, without tiring, and without chafing or feeling the least uneasiness. One afternoon, he rode in a full trot from Nuremberg to the so called old Veste and back again; and this feeble youth, who, about that time, would have been so much fatigued with walking a few miles in the city, as to be obliged to lie down quite exhausted, and go to bed a few hours sooner than usual, returned from performing this gigantic feat, apparently, as little fatigued as if he had only been walking his horse from one gate of the city to the other. This insensibility may, as Professor Daumer supposes, be chiefly owing to the fact, that he had been sitting for so many

⁷ This presentation of Feuerbach of Hauser's talent in riding is in error as the legal testimony of his riding teacher v. Rumpler shows. Compare Daumer's notes, which Feuerbach follows here as in other places. Hauser's affirmed skillfulness in riding was the chief reason for the Berlin police-official Merker's believing him to be an impostor. Elsewhere this matter will have to be further discussed. (Pies)

years upon a hard floor; which is, indeed, by no means improbable. Yet, besides this, we may, from Hauser's love of horses and his almost instinctive equestrian dexterity, be led to form the perhaps not altogether untenable conjecture, that by birth he must belong to a nation of horsemen. For, that abilities, which at first indeed were acquired artificially, but which have been sustained by practice throughout successive generations, may finally be propagated as natural propensities, and distinguished capacities for acquiring them, is not unknown; of which fact, the dexterity in swimming peculiar to the South Sea islanders, and the sharp-sightedness of the North America hunter-nations may serve as instances.⁸

Besides his extraordinary equestrian talents, the extreme peculiarity, the almost preternatural acuteness and intensity of his sensual perceptions, appeared particularly remarkable in Caspar Hauser during his abode in Professor Daumer's house.

As to his sight, there existed, in respect to him, no twilight, no night,⁹ no darkness. This was first noticed by remarking that at night he stepped everywhere with the greatest confidence; and that, in dark places, he always refused a light when it was offered to him. He often looked with astonishment, or laughed, at persons who, in dark places, for instance, when entering a house, or walking on a staircase by night, sought safety in groping their way, or in laying hold on adjacent objects. In twilight, he even saw much better than in broad daylight. Thus, after sunset, he once read the number of a house at a distance of one hundred and eighty paces, which, in daylight, he would not have been able to distinguish so far off. Towards the close of twilight, he once pointed out to his instructor a gnat that was hanging in a very distant spider's web. At a distance of, certainly not less than sixty paces, he could distinguish the single berries, in a cluster of elderberries, from each other, and these berries from black currants. It has been proved by experiments carefully made, that in a perfectly dark night, he could distinguish different dark colours, such as blue and green,¹⁰ from each other.

When, at the commencement of twilight, a common eye could not yet

⁸ The translator of Feuerbach's account left out an interesting paragraph about this Berlin police-official Merker, possibly because he was still living in 1833. By now it will be completely safe to add this interesting paragraph which gives Feuerbach's opinion of the critic Merker. "A certain fine-smelling policeman (Feuerbach's footnote "Herr Merker of Berlin") was misled by Hauser's striking talent in riding, to the supposition that Hauser might have been a young English rider, who had run away from his troupe, to play a comedy on his own account for the gullible Nurembergers. No one will contest Merker's claim to honor as the originator of such a hypothesis." (Zingg)

⁹ See p. 19, fn. 3, also p. 22.

¹⁰ Compare these data with similar things told by Daumer. (Pies)

distinguish more than three or four stars in the sky, he could already discern the different groups of stars, and he could distinguish the different single stars of which they were composed, from each other, according to their magnitudes, and the peculiarities of their coloured light. From the inclosure of the castle at Nuremberg, he could count a row of windows in the castle of Marloffstein; and from the castle, a row of windows of a house lying below the fortress of Rothenberg. His sight was as sharp, in distinguishing objects near, as it was penetrating in discerning them at a distance. In anatomizing plants, he noticed subtle distinctions and delicate particles which had entirely escaped the observation of others.

Scarcely less sharp and penetrating than his sight was his hearing. When taking a walk in the fields, he once heard, at a comparatively very great distance, the footsteps of several persons, and he could distinguish these persons from each other by their walk. He had once an opportunity of comparing the acuteness of his hearing with the still greater acuteness of hearing evinced by a blind man, who could distinguish even the most gentle step of a man walking barefoot. On this occasion he observed that his hearing had formerly been much more acute, but that its acuteness had been considerably diminished since he had begun to eat meat; so that he could no longer distinguish sounds with so great a nicety as that blind man.

Of all his senses, that which was the most troublesome to him, which occasioned him the most painful feelings, and which made his life in the world more disagreeable to him than any other, was the sense of smelling. What to us is entirely scentless, was not so to him. The most delicate and delightful odours of flowers, for instance the rose, were perceived by him as insupportable stench, which painfully affected his nerves.

What announces itself by its smell to others, only when very near, was scented by him at a very considerable distance. Excepting the smell of bread, of fennel, of anise, and of carraway, to which he says he had already been accustomed in his prison;—for his bread was seasoned with these condiments—all kinds of smells were more or less disagreeable to him. When he was once asked, which of all other smells was most agreeable to him? he answered, none at all. His walks and rides were often rendered very unpleasant by leading him near to flower gardens, tobacco fields, nut trees, and other plants which affected his olfactory nerves; and he paid dearly for his recreations in the free air, by suffering afterwards from headaches, cold sweats, and attacks of fever. He smelt tobacco, when in blossom in the fields, at the distance of fifty paces, and at more than one hundred paces, when it was hung up in bundles to dry, as is com-

monly the case about the houses in the villages near Nuremberg. He could distinguish apple, pear, and plum trees from each other at a considerable distance, by the smell of their leaves. The different colouring materials used in the painting of walls and furniture, and in the dyeing of cloths, &c., the pigments with which he coloured his pictures, the ink or pencil with which he wrote, all things about him, wafted odours to his nostrils which were unpleasant or painful to him. If a chimney-sweeper walked the streets, though at the distance of several paces from him, he turned his face, shuddering from the smell. The smell of an old cheese made him feel unwell, and affected him with vomiting. The smell of strong vinegar, though fully a yard distant from him, operated so powerfully upon the nerves of his sight and smell, as to bring the water into his eyes. When a glass of wine was filled at table, at a considerable distance from him, he complained of its disagreeable smell, and of a sensation of heat in his head. The opening of a bottle of champagne was sure to drive him from the table or to make him sick. What we call unpleasant smells, were perceived by him with much less aversion, than many of our perfumes. The smell of fresh meat was, to him, the most horrible of all smells. When Professor Daumer, in the autumn of 1828, walked with Caspar near to St. John's church-yard, in the vicinity of Nuremberg, the smell of the dead bodies, of which the professor had not the slightest perception, affected him so powerfully, that he was immediately seized with an ague, and began to shudder. The ague was soon succeeded by a feverish heat, which at length broke out into a violent perspiration, by which his linen was thoroughly wet. He afterwards said, that he had never before experienced so great a heat. When on his return, he came near to the city-gate, he said that he felt better; yet he complained that his sight had been obscured thereby. Similar effects were once experienced by him (on the 28th of September, 1828), when he had been for a considerable time walking by the side of a tobacco-field.

Professor Daumer first noticed the peculiar properties of Caspar's sense of feeling, and his susceptibility of metallic excitements, while he was yet at the tower. Here, a stranger once made him a present of a little wooden horse and a small magnet, with which, as the forepart of the horse was furnished with iron, it could be made to swim about in different directions. When Caspar was going to use this toy according to the instructions he had received, he felt himself very disagreeably affected; and he immediately locked it up in the box belonging to it, without ever taking it out again, as he was accustomed to do with his other playthings, in order to shew it to his visitors. When he was afterwards asked why he did so?

he said, that that horse had occasioned him a pain which he had felt in his whole body and in all its members. After he had removed to Professor Daumer's house, he kept the box with the magnet in a trunk; from which, in clearing out his things, it was accidentally taken and brought into notice. The idea was suggested thereby to Professor Daumer, who recollected the occurrence that had formerly taken place, to make an experiment on Caspar with the magnet belonging to the little horse. Caspar very soon experienced the most surprising effects. When Professor Daumer held the north pole towards him, Caspar put his hand to the pit of his stomach, and, drawing his waistcoat in an outward direction, said that it drew him thus; and that a current of air seemed to proceed from him. The south pole affected him less powerfully; and he said that it blew upon him. Professor Daumer and Professor Herrman made, afterwards, several other experiments similar to these, and calculated to deceive him; but his feelings always told him very correctly, and even though the magnet was held at a considerable distance from him,—whether the north pole or the south pole was held towards him. Such experiments could not be continued long, because the perspiration soon appeared on his forehead, and he began to feel unwell.

In respect to his sensibility of the presence of other metals, and his ability to distinguish them from each other by his feelings alone, Professor Daumer has selected a great number of facts, from which I shall select only a few. In autumn, 1828, he once accidentally went into a store filled with hardware, particularly with brass goods. He had scarcely entered, before he hurried out again, being affected with a violent shuddering, and saying that he felt a drawing in his whole body in all directions.—A stranger who visited him, once slipped a piece of gold of the size of a kreutzer into his hand, without Caspar's being able to see it; he said immediately that he felt gold in his hand.—At a time when Caspar was absent, Professor Daumer placed a gold ring, a steel and brass compass, and a silver drawing pen, under some paper, so that it was impossible for him to see what was concealed under it. Daumer directed him to move his finger over the paper, without touching it; he did so; and by the difference of the sensation and strength of the attraction which these different metals caused him to feel at the points of his fingers, he accurately distinguished them all from each other, according to their respective matter and form.—Once, when the physician, Dr. Osterhausen, and the royal crown-fiscal, Brunner, from Munchen, happened to be present, Mr. Daumer led Caspar, in order to try him, to a table covered with an oil-cloth, upon which a sheet of paper lay, and desired him to say whether

any metal was under it. He moved his finger over it, and then said, "There it draws!" "But, this time," replied Daumer, "you are nevertheless, mistaken; for (withdrawing the paper) nothing lies under it." Caspar seemed, at first, to be somewhat embarrassed; but he put his finger again to the place where he thought he had felt the drawing, and assured them repeatedly, that he *there* felt a drawing. The oilcloth was then removed, a stricter search was made, and a needle was actually found there.—He described the feeling which minerals occasioned him, as a kind of drawing sensation, which passed over him, accompanied, at the same time, with a chill which ascended, accordingly as the objects were different, more or less up the arm; and which was also attended with other distinctive sensations. At the same time, the veins of the hand which had been exposed to the metallic excitation, were visibly swollen. Towards the end of December, 1828,—when the morbid excitability of his nerves had been almost removed,—his sensibility of the influence of metallic excitatives, began gradually to disappear, and was, at length, totally lost.¹¹ Animal magnetism manifested itself in him in a manner equally surprising; and he retained his receptivity of it for a much longer time than he did that of metallic excitements. But, as the phenomena which appeared in Caspar, agree in all their essential characteristics with similar appearances in other well-known cases, it would be superfluous to add any other observations respecting them, than, that he always called his sensation of the streaming in upon him of the magnetic fluid, a blowing upon him. He experienced such magnetic sensations, not only when in contact with men, when they touched him with the hand, or when they, even at some distance, extended the points of their finger towards him, &c., but also when he was in contact with animals.

When he laid his hand upon a horse, a cold sensation, as he said, went up his arm; and when he was mounted, he felt as if a draught of wind passed through his body. But these sensations went off after he had several times rode his horse around the riding-school.

When he caught a cat by the tail, he was seized with a strong fit of shivering, and he felt as if he had received a blow upon his hand. In March, 1829, he was, for the first time, taken to a tent where foreign animals were exhibited, and, agreeably to his wish, he was placed in the third row of spectators. Immediately as he entered, he felt an ague, which was greatly increased when the rattlesnake was irritated and began to shake its rattles; and this was soon succeeded by a feverish heat and pro-

¹¹ Look up the details of Hauser's sensitiveness in Daumer. (*Pics*). *Pics: op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 139 ff.

fuse perspiration. The eyes of the snake were not directed to the spot where he sat; and he maintains, that he was not conscious of any sensation of terror or of apprehension.



The gravestone of Kaspar Hauser in Ansbach

We now leave Caspar's physical and physiological aspect, in order to contemplate the interior region of his mind, which, while it exhibits to us the acuteness of his natural understanding, enables us at the same time to draw exact conclusions concerning the fate of his life, and the state of utter neglect in which his mind was left by the profligacy of human beings. Though his soul was filled with a childish kindness and gentleness,¹² which rendered him incapable of hurting a worm or a fly, much

¹² Also other eye-witnesses, such as Daumer, v. Tucher, Giehrl, Dr. Osterhausen, v. Rumpler, etc., make similar reports of Hauser's kindness and purity of spirit, when he first came to Nuremberg. (Pies)

less a man; though in his conduct in all the various relations of life, he showed that his soul was spotless and pure as the reflex of the eternal in the soul of an angel, yet, as we have already observed, he brought with him from his dungeon to the light of the world, not an idea, not the least presentiment of the existence of God not a shadow of faith in any more elevated, invisible existence. Raised like an animal, slumbering even while awake, sensible in the desert of his narrow dungeon, only of the crudest wants of animal nature, occupied with nothing but the taking of his food, and the eternal sameness of his wooden horses, the life of his soul could be compared only to the life of an oyster, which, adhering to its rock, is sensible of nothing but the absorption of its food, and perceives only the eternal uniform dashing of the waves; and in its narrow shell finds no room even for the most confined idea of a world without it. Still less was he capable of having the least presentiment of any thing that is above the earth, and above all worlds. Thus came Caspar, unswayed indeed by prejudices, but without any sense of what is invisible, incorporeal and eternal, to this upper world, where, seized and driven around by the stunning vortex of external things, he was too much occupied with visible realities to suffer the want of any thing that is invisible to become perceptible to his mind. Nothing, at first, appeared to him to have any reality, but what he could see, hear, feel, smell, or taste; and his awakened, and soon also speculative understanding, would admit of nothing, that was not based upon his sensual consciousness, that could not be placed within the reach of his senses, that could not be presented to him in the form of some coarse conception of his understanding sufficiently near to be brought home to him. All attempts made in the common way, to awaken religious ideas in his mind, were, for a long time entirely fruitless. With great naïveté, he complained to Professor Daumer, that he did not know what the clergymen meant by all the things that they told him; of which he could comprehend nothing. In order somewhat to overcome his coarse materialistic ideas, Professor Daumer endeavoured, in the following manner, to make him receptive of some preparatory notions of the possibility to conceive and to believe the existence of an invisible world, and particularly the existence of God. Mr. Daumer asked him whether he had not thoughts, ideas, and a will. And when he acknowledged that he had, he asked him whether he could see them, hear them, &c.? When he said that he could not, he made him observe, that he was therefore conscious that there do exist things which we cannot see, nor otherwise perceive externally. Caspar acknowledged this; and he was much astonished at this discovery of the incorporeal nature of our interior being. Daumer continued: "A being

that can think and will is called a spirit; God is such a spirit, and between him and the world there exists a relation, something like that between Caspar's thought and his body; as he, Caspar, can produce changes in his own body by his invisible thinking and willing, as he, for instance, can move his hands and feet, so God can produce changes in the world; he is the life in all things; he is the spirit that is operative in the whole world!" —Professor Daumer now ordered him to move his arm, and then asked him "if he could not, at the same time, lift and move the other arm?" "Certainly!" "Now, hence you see, then," continued Professor Daumer, "that your invisible thought and will, that is, your spirit, may be present and operative in two of your members at once, and, consequently, in two different places at the same time. The case is the same in respect to God; but on a grand scale: and now you may form some conception of what I mean by saying that God is everywhere present."—Caspar evinced great joy when this had been explained to him; and he said to his instructor, that what he had now told him was something "real"; whereas other people had never told him any thing upon that subject that was right.—Yet instructions such as these, had for a long time no other effect than to render Hauser less refractory when the idea of God was presented to his mind; since thus a way was found, by which religious ideas could be instilled in him. But the apparently inborn pyrrhonism of his nature, would nevertheless, on various occasions, break out anew in different forms and in different directions.—He once asked, whether we might pray to God for any particular thing, and whether he would grant us what we prayed for; for instance, if he prayed to God to cure the malady of his eyes with which he was afflicted, would he do it? He was answered, that he was certainly permitted to pray; but that he must leave it to the wisdom of God to determine, whether it was proper that his prayer should be granted. "But," he replied, "I wish for the use of my eyes, that I may learn and work; and that must be good for me. God can have nothing against it." If he was then instructed that God has inscrutable reasons for refusing us even what most evidently appears to be good for us, in order, for instance, to try us, and to exercise our patience, such doctrines were always received by him coldly, and met with no acknowledgement.—His doubts, questions, and objections, frequently embarrassed his instructor not a little; for instance, once when the conversation was concerning the omnipotence of God, he proposed the question: "Can Almighty God also make time recede?" a question which contained a bitter sarcastic allusion to the fate of his earlier life, and, in the back ground, concealed the inquiry, whether God could restore his childhood and youth, which had

been lost to him in a living grave. From these few remarks we may infer, what was, in his mind, the state of positive religion, of Christian dogmatics, of the doctrine of the atonement, and of similar doctrines, from stating his objections to which I willingly refrain.

There were two orders of men, to whom Caspar had, for a considerable time, an unconquerable aversion—physicians and clergymen; to the first, “on account of the abominable medicines which they prescribed, and with which they made people sick”; and to the latter, because, as he expressed himself, they made people afraid, and confused them with in comprehensible stuff. When he saw a minister, he was seized with horror and dismay.¹³ If he was asked the cause of this, he would reply, “Because these people have already tormented me very much. Once, when I was at the tower, four of them came to me all at once, and told me things which at that time I could not at all comprehend; for instance, that God had created all things out of nothing. When I asked them for an explanation, they all began to cry out at the same time, and every one said something different. When I told them, All these things I do not yet understand; I must first learn to read and write; they replied, These things must be learned first. Nor did they go away, until I signified to them my desire, that they would at length leave me at rest.” In churches, therefore, Caspar felt by no means happy. The crucifixes which he saw there, excited a horrible shuddering in him; because, for a long time, he involuntarily ascribed life to images. The singing of the congregation seemed to him as a repulsive bawling. “First,” said he, after returning from attending a church, “the people bawl; and when they have done, the parson begins to bawl.”

¹³ Compare this with the accounts of Daumer and Fuhrmann. (Pies). Fuhrmann's account is given, *Pies: op. cit.*, Volume II, p. 105 ff.

(Caspar Hauser)

CHAPTER VII

By the careful attention of Mr. Daumer's worthy family, by the use of proper exercise, and by the judicious employment of his time, Caspar Hauser's health had been greatly improved. He was diligent in learning, increased in knowledge, and made considerable progress in ciphering and writing: and he had advanced so far in the later, that, about the summer of 1829, he was able, at the desire of those who directed his actions, to collect his recollections of his life into a written memoir. This first attempt at an original exposition of his thoughts,¹ although it could only be considered as a document exhibiting the retarded progress, and the consequent indigence and awkwardness of his still childish mind, was nevertheless viewed by him with the eyes of a young author when the first production of his pen is about to appear in print. This itch of authorship, caused this so called history of his life, to be shown both to native and foreign visitors; and the story soon ran, and even appeared in several public journals, that Caspar Hauser was employed in writing a history of his life. It is highly probable that this very report occasioned the catastrophe which, soon after it was circulated, in the month of October, the same year (1829), was intended to bring his short life to a tragic end. Caspar Hauser,—if we may be permitted to indulge in conjectures—had, at length, become, to those who kept him secretly confined, a dangerous burthen. The child which they had so long fed, had become a boy, and was at length grown up to a young man. He became restless, his powers of life became more vivid, he sometimes made a noise, and it was necessary to keep him quiet by means of severe chastisement, of which he still bore fresh marks when he came to Nuremberg. Why they did not get rid of him in some other manner? Why they did not destroy him? Why as a child had he not been put out of the world? Whether it may not have been with instructions to murder him, that he was first delivered to his at-

¹ Examples of such earliest literary effusions of Hauser are given in the *Selbstzeugnisse*. (Pics). Pies: *op. cit.*, Volume II, p. 187 ff.

tenant, who, either from compassion, or with an intention to wait for times more favourable to the child who was to be made away with, or for other reasons, that may be imagined, had, at his own risk, kept the child alive and fed it? All this must be left to conjecture. However this may be, the time was come, or rather it was not come; the secreted individual could no longer be kept concealed; it was necessary to get rid of him in some way or other, and—in a beggar's garb—he was sent to Nuremberg. It was intended, that he should disappear there, either as a vagabond, or as an idiot, in some public institution, or, if any attention was paid to the recommendation which he brought with him, as a soldier in some regiment. Contrary to every expectation, none of these events took place; the unknown foundling met with humane commiseration, and became the object of universal public attention; the public journals were filled with accounts of this mysterious young man, and with conjectures respecting him. From being the adopted child of the city of Nuremberg, for such the magistracy of the city had declared him, he became, at length, the child of Europe. The development of Caspar's mind is everywhere spoken of, marvellous things are related to the public, of his progress, and now this human animal is writing a history of his life! He who gives a history of his life must be able to describe something relating to it.

Those persons, therefore, who had every reason to wish to remain in the darkness which they had drawn around themselves, and around all traces leading to them, could not but feel very uneasy at hearing of this intended autobiography.

The plan to bury poor Caspar alive in the waves of a world entirely unknown to him, had failed; and it was only now that Caspar's murder became, in the opinion of those who had committed this secret crime, in a manner, an act of self-defence.

Caspar was accustomed, between eleven and twelve o'clock, to go out of the house in order to attend a lesson in cyphering. But on Saturday, the 17th of October, he was directed by his tutor, to remain at home, because he felt unwell. About that hour, Professor Daumer took a walk; and, besides Caspar, who was known to be in his chamber, none remained at home but Daumer's mother and his sister, who, about that time, were busy sweeping the house.

The house, in which Caspar lived, at Daumer's, lies in a distant and little-frequented part of the city, and is situated on an open place of an extraordinary size, which can scarcely be overlooked. The house, being built according to the ancient custom of Nuremberg, is very irregular and full of edges and corners, and consists of a front building, in which the

landlord lived, and a back building in which Daumer's family resided. A narrow house-door leads, by a passage, inclosing the yard on two sides, to the staircase belonging to Daumer's quarters; and, besides a wood-room, a place for poultry, and similar conveniences, there is in a corner, close under a winding staircase, a very low, small, and narrow water-closet. The small space in which this is, was rendered still smaller by a screen placed before it. Whoever is in the entry, upon a level with the ground (for instance, near the wood-room), is very well able to observe who comes down stairs and enters the water-closet.

About twelve o'clock the same day, when Professor Daumer's sister, Catherine, was busy sweeping the house, she observed, upon the staircase which leads from the first story to the yard, several spots of blood, and bloody foot-steps, which she immediately wiped away, without, on that account, thinking that any thing extraordinary had happened. She supposed, that Caspar might have been seized on the staircase with a bleeding at the nose, and she went to his chamber to ask him about it. She did not find Caspar there; but she observed, also, in his room, near the door, a few bloody foot-steps. After she had again gone down stairs, in order to sweep also the above-mentioned passage in the yard, single traces of blood again met her eye, upon the stone-pavement of the passage. She went on to the water-closet where there lay a dense heap of clotted blood: this she shewed to the daughter of the landlord, who had just come to the spot, and who was of opinion that it was the blood of a cat. Daumer's sister, who immediately spunged the blood off, was now still more confirmed in the opinion, that Hauser had stained the staircase: he must have trod upon this clot of blood, and neglected to wipe his feet before going up stairs. It was already past twelve o'clock; the table was laid; and Caspar, who at other times had always punctually come to dinner, stayed this time away. The mother of Professor Daumer, therefore, went down from her chamber to call Caspar, but was as unsuccessful in finding him, as her daughter had been before her.

Mrs. Daumer was just in the act of going once more up into his chamber, when she was struck with observing something moist upon the cellar door, which appeared to her like blood. Fearing that some misfortune had happened, she lifted up the cellar door; she observed upon all the steps of the cellar drops or large spots of blood; she went down to the lowest step; and she saw, in a corner of the cellar, which was filled with water, something white, glimmering at a distance. Mrs. Daumer then hurried back, and requested the landlord's servant-maid to go into the cellar, with a candle, to see what the white thing was that lay there.

She had scarcely held the candle to the object pointed out to her, when she exclaimed "There lies Caspar dead."—The servant-maid, and the son of the landlord, who in the meantime had come to their assistance, now lifted Caspar, who gave no signs of life, and whose face was pale as death and covered with blood, from the ground, and carried him out of the cellar. When he was brought up stairs, the first sign of life that he gave was a deep groan; and he then exclaimed, with a hollow voice, "Man! man!"—He was immediately put to bed; where, with his eyes shut, he, from time to time, cried out, or murmured to himself, the following words and broken sentences.—"Mother!—tell professor!—man beat—black man, like sweep (kuchen)²—tell mother—not found in my chamber—hide in the cellar."

Upon this, he was seized with a severe ague, which was soon succeeded by violent paroxysms, and finally by a complete frenzy, in which several strong men were scarcely able to hold him down. In these fits, he bit a considerable piece out of a porcelain cup, in which a warm draught had been brought him; and he swallowed it along with the drink. For almost forty-eight hours, he remained in a state of perfect absence of mind. In his delirium, during the night, he uttered, from time to time, the following broken sentences: "Tell it to the burghermaster.—Not lock up.—Man away!—man comes!—Away bell!—I to Furth ride down.—Not to Erlangen in the whale—not kill, not hold the mouth shut—not die! Hauser, where been; not to Furth to-day; not more away! head ache already.—Not to Erlangen in the whale! The man kill me! Away! Don't kill! I all men love; do no one anything. Lady mayoress help!—Man, I love you too; don't kill! Why the man kill? I have done you nothing.—Don't kill me! I will yet beg that you may not be locked up.—Never have let me out of my prison, you would even kill me!—You should first have killed me, before I understood what it is to live.—You must say why you locked me up," &c. Most of these sentences, he repeated, mingled incoherently with each other. The result of the visitation instituted, with the assistance of the medical officer of the city jurisdiction, by the court of inquiry appointed by the judicial authorities,—to which the case was at length referred, by the police court—was as follows:

"The forehead of Hauser, who was lying in bed, was found to be hurt by a sharp wound in the middle of it, concerning the size and quality of

² This refers to a case in which Caspar had been very much frightened by the chimney sweeper, who was sweeping in the kitchen. The word *kuchen* probably meant *küche*—kitchen, which name he gave to the chimney-sweeper, who, as mentioned above, had frightened him in the kitchen. (Linberg)

which, the court's medical officer has given the following report, which was entered into the protocol.

"The wound is upon the forehead, about $10\frac{1}{2}$ lines from the root of the nose, running across it; so that two thirds of the wound are on the right, and one third of it on the left side of the forehead. The whole length of the wound, which runs in a straight line, is $19\frac{1}{2}$ lines.

"At present (October 20th) the edges of the wound are closed, and there scarcely remains an interstice of a quarter of a line between them. But this is somewhat broader at its left end than throughout the whole course of the wound; on which account it is to be presumed, that it there penetrated deepest.—As far as regards the origin of the wound, it was evidently given to Hauser with a sharp cutting instrument, by a stroke or thrust (?). The sharp edges of the wound indicate the sharpness of the instrument's blade; the straightness of the wound indicates that it was occasioned by a stroke or thrust (?); because, if the wound had been purely a cut, its beginning and end would have been more shallow and narrow, but the middle deeper; and, on that very account, it would appear more gaping. It is however most probable, that it was made by a stroke; because, if it had been made by a thrust, the adjoining parts would have been more bruised." The wound, as the physician declared, was in itself inconsiderable; any other person would have been cured of it in six days. But on account of the highly excited state of Caspar's nervous system, it was twenty-two days before he recovered from the consequences of it.

Caspar relates the substance of what happened, as follows: "On the 17th I had been obliged to put off the ciphering lesson which I attended every day, at Mr. Erlangen's, from 11 to 12 o'clock; because, having an hour before received a walnut from Dr. Peru, I felt very ill; although I had not eaten more than a quarter of it. Professor Daumer, whom I informed of the circumstance, therefore told me, that I should not at this time attend my usual ciphering lesson, but remain at home. Professor Daumer went out, and I retired to my chamber.

"I intended to employ myself in writing; but was prevented by indisposition from doing so, and compelled to go to the water-closet. While there, I heard a noise, like that which is usually heard when the door of the wood-room is opened, and which is well known to me; I also heard a soft sound of the house door bell; this, did not however appear to proceed from ringing it, but from some immediate contact with the bell itself. Immediately after, I heard, softly, footsteps from the lower passage, and at the same time I saw, through the space between the screen before

the private closet and the small staircase, that a man was sneaking through the passage. I observed the entirely black head of the man, and thought it was the chimney-sweeper. But, when I was afterwards preparing to leave the narrow apartment in which I was, and my head was somewhat outside of it, the black man stood suddenly before me, and gave me a blow on the head; in consequence of which I immediately fell with my whole body on the ground." (Now follows a description of the man which cannot well be communicated.) "Of the face and the hair of the man, I could perceive nothing; for he was veiled, and indeed, as I believe, with a black silk handkerchief drawn over his whole head.

"After I had lain, probably for a considerable time, without consciousness, I came again to my senses. I felt something warm trickling down my face, and both of my hands, which I raised to my forehead, were in consequence thereof stained with blood. Frightened at this, I intended to run to mother;³ but being seized with confusion and terror (for I was still afraid that the man who had struck me might attack me again), instead of reaching mother's door, I ran to the clothes-press before my room.⁴ Here my sight failed me, and I endeavoured to keep myself upright by holding fast to the press with my hands.⁵ When I had recovered, I wished again to go to mother's, but being still more confused, and straying still further, instead of going up stairs, I discovered, with horror, that I had come down stairs, and was again in the passage. The trap door of the cellar was closed. Whence I got the strength to lift this heavy door, is, to this very moment, inconceivable to me. Nevertheless, I did lift it, and slipped down into the cellar.⁶ By the cold water in the cellar, through which I was obliged to walk, I was restored to a more perfect state of self-consciousness. I observed a dry spot on the floor of the cellar, and I sat down upon it. I had scarcely sat down, when I heard the clock strike twelve. I then began to reflect: 'Here you are entirely forsaken, no one

³ So he always called his foster-mother, the mother of Professor Daumer. (Feuerbach)

⁴ Every step of Caspar's, which is mentioned in the above narrative, was found to be marked with bloody traces. (Feuerbach)

⁵ The bloody marks upon the press were still visible for several days afterwards. (Feuerbach)

⁶ How true and naturally are here the effects of terror and of fear, described!—That Caspar did not creep into the cellar through the open cellar-door, and that it was really necessary for him first to open it, is a matter of fact, which cannot be doubted; and it is equally true, that the opening of the cellar-door, which, to so feeble a person as Caspar, was a Herculean labour, would, at any other time, or in any other circumstances, have been quite impossible to him.* (Feuerbach)

* Meyer remarks regarding this: "Hauser, who was about eighteen years old, well-developed, and capable in riding certainly should have had the strength to open the cellar-door, which the women of the house had to open daily." (Pics)

will look for you here.'—This thought filled my eyes with tears, until I was seized with vomiting, and then lost my recollection. When I again regained my recollection, I found myself in my room upon the bed, and mother by my side."⁷

In respect to the manner in which he was wounded, I (the author of this) cannot join the opinion of the court.

I have several reasons, but which cannot with propriety be publicly made known, for believing that Caspar Hauser's wound was neither made by a stroke, nor by a thrust; neither with a sabre, with a hatchet, with a chissel, nor with a common knife made for cutting, but with another well-known sharp-cutting instrument; and that the wound was not aimed at the head, but at the throat; but (because, at the sight of the man and of the armed fist which was suddenly extending itself towards his throat, Caspar instinctively stooped) that the blow glanced from his throat, which was protected by his chin, and was led upwards. The person who committed the act may have thought, when Caspar immediately fell down bleeding, that it had fully succeeded; and he dared not to remain any longer by his victim in order to examine whether it had fully succeeded or not, and in case it had not, to repeat the blow, because, on account of the situation of the place, he had every moment great reason to fear that he would be detected by somebody. Thus Caspar escaped with a wound on the forehead.⁸

Other indications that might lead to the discovery of the person who had committed the act, soon appeared.⁹ Among others, for instance, it was ascertained, that, on the same day and in the same hour when the deed was done, the man described by Caspar, was seen to go out of Daumer's house; that, nearly about the same time, the same well-dressed person described by Caspar, was seen washing his hands (which were probably bloody,) in a water-trough which stands in the street, not very far from Daumer's house; that, about four days after the deed, a well-dressed gentleman, who wore clothes like those worn by the black man described by Hauser, went up to a low woman, who was going to the city, and questioned her earnestly concerning the life or death of the wounded Caspar; that he then went with this woman close to the gate, where a hand-bill was to be seen concerning Hauser's wound, which had

⁷ Compare this story of the attempted assassination with the material of Daumer as well as that of Hauser himself. The latter is given in the *Selbstzeugnisse*. (Pies: *op. cit.*, Volume II, p. 187.) There are also given the utterances which Hauser made in his delirium. (Pies)

⁸ This observation of Feuerbach aroused many controversies. (Pies)

⁹ The records of this testimony are still preserved in the Hauser archives. (Pies)

been stuck up by the magistracy; and that he afterwards, without entering the city, absented himself in a very suspicious manner, &c.

But, if the reader's curiosity, or his love of knowledge, should inspire him with a wish to learn still more; if he should ask me what were the results of the judicial inquiries which were instituted; if he should desire to know to what tracks they have led, what spots were actually struck by the divining rod, and what was afterwards done; I shall be under the necessity of answering, that the laws, as well as the nature of the case, forbid the author to speak publicly of things which only the servant of the state can be permitted to know or to conjecture. Yet I may allow myself to pronounce the assurance, that the judicial authorities have, with a faithfulness at once unwearied and regardless of consequences, endeavoured to prosecute their inquiries concerning the case, by the aid of every, even the most extraordinary means, which were at their disposal; and that their inquiries have not been altogether unsuccessful.

But, not all heights, depths, and distances, are accessible to the reach of civil justice. And, in respect to many places in which justice might have reason to seek the giant perpetrator of such a crime, it would be necessary, in order to penetrate into them, to be in possession of Joshua's ram's horns, or at least of Oberon's horn, in order, for some time at least, to suspend the action of the powerful enchanted Colossuses that guard the golden gates of certain castles.¹⁰

But what is veiled in blackest shades of night,
Must, when the morning dawns, be brought to light.

¹⁰ Again a hint of Feuerbach's opinion that Hauser was descended from the royal house of Baden. (Pics)

(Caspar Hauser)

CHAPTER VIII

If Caspar, who may now be reckoned among civilized and well-behaved men, were to enter a mixed company without being known, he would strike every one as a strange phenomenon.

His face, in which the soft traits of childhood are mingled with the harsher features of manhood, and a heart-winning friendliness with thoughtful seriousness, tinctured with a slight tinge of melancholy; his naïveté, his confidential openness, and his often more than childish inexperience, combined with a kind of sageness, and (though without affectation) with something of the gravity of a man of rank in his speech and demeanour; then, the awkwardness of his language, sometimes at a loss for words, and sometimes using such as have a harsh and foreign sound, as well as the stiffness of his deportment and his unpliant movements,—all these, make him appear, to every observant eye, as a mingled compound of child, youth, and man, while it seems impossible, at the first glance, to determine to which compartment of life, this prepossessing combination of them all properly belongs.

In his mind, there appears nothing of genius; not even any remarkable talent;¹ what he learns he owes to an obstinately persevering application. Also the wild flame of that fiery zeal, with which in the beginning he seemed anxious to burst open all the gates of science, has long since been extinguished. In all things that he undertakes, he remains stationary, either at the commencement, or when arrived at mediocrity. Without a spark of fancy, incapable of uttering a single pleasantry, or even of understanding a figurative expression, he possesses dry, but thoroughly sound common sense, and in respect to things which directly concern his person, and which lie within the narrow sphere of his knowledge and

¹ Except for horsemanship, of which he was always passionately fond. In managing his horse, as well as in mounting and dismounting with dexterity and elegance, he equals the most skilful riding-master. To many of our most distinguished officers, Caspar is, in this respect, an object of admiration. (Feuerbach)

experience, he shews an accuracy and an acuteness of judgment, which might shame and confound many a learned pedant.

In understanding a man, in knowledge a little child, and, in many things, more ignorant than a child, the whole of his language and demeanour shows often a strangely contrasted mingling of manly with childish behaviour. With a serious countenance, and in a tone of great importance, he often utters things, which, coming from any other person of the same age, would be called stupid or silly; but which coming from him, always forces upon us a sad compassionate smile. It is particularly farcical to hear him speak of the future plans of his life; of the manner in which, after having learned a great deal and earned money, he intends to settle himself with his wife, whom he considers as an indispensable part of domestic furniture.

He never thinks of a wife in any other manner than as a housekeeper, or as an upper servant, whom a man may keep as long as she suits him, and may turn away again, if she frequently spoils his soup, and does not properly mend his shirts or brush his coats, &c.

Mild and gentle, without vicious inclinations, and without passions and strong emotions, his quiet mind resembles the smooth mirror of a lake in the stillness of a moonlight night. Incapable of hurting an animal, compassionate even to the worm, which he is afraid to tread upon, timid even to cowardice,² he will nevertheless act regardless of consequences, and even without forbearance, whenever, according to his own convictions, it becomes necessary to defend or to execute purposes which he has once perceived and acknowledged to be right. If he feels himself oppressed in his situation, he will long bear it patiently, and will endeavour to get out of the way of the person who is thus troublesome to him, or will endeavour to effect a change in his conduct by mild expostulations; but, finally, if he cannot help himself in any other manner, as soon as an opportunity offers of doing so, he will very quietly slip off the bonds that confine him; yet without bearing the least malice against him who may have injured him. He is obedient, obliging, and yielding; but the man that accuses him wrongfully, or asserts to be true what he believes to be untrue, need not expect, that, from mere complaisance, or from other considerations, he will submit to injustice or to falsehood; he will always modestly, but firmly, insist upon his right; or, perhaps, if the other seems inclined obstinately to maintain his ground against him, he will silently leave him.

As a mature youth who has slept away his childhood and boyhood, too

² Particularly since the attempt made to murder him. (Feuerbach)

old to be considered as a child, and too childishly ignorant to be regarded as a young man; without companions of an equal age; without country, and without parents and relations; as it were the only being of his kind—every moment reminds him of his solitude amidst the bustle of the world that presses upon him; of his weakness, feebleness, and inability to combat against the power of those contingencies that rule his fate; and, above all, of the dependance of his person upon the favour or disfavour of men. Hence, his expertness in observing men, which was almost forced upon him by the necessity of self-defence; hence the circumspect acuteness which, by ill-disposed persons, has been called slyness and cunning—with which he quickly seizes their peculiarities and foibles, and knows how to accommodate himself to those who are able to do him good or harm, to avoid offences, to oblige them, adroitly to make known to them his wishes, and to render the good-will of his favourers and friends serviceable to him. Neither childish tricks and wanton pranks, nor instances of mischief and malice, can be laid to his charge; for the first, he possesses too much cool deliberation and seriousness, and for the latter, he possesses too much good nature, combined with a love of justice, by the dictates of which he regulates his conduct with a scrupulous exactness, which without affectation approaches even to pedantry.³

One of the greatest errors committed in the education of this young man and in the formation of his mind, was evidently, that, instead of forming his mind upon a model of common humanity suited to his individual peculiarities, he was sent a year or two ago to the Gymnasium, where he was besides, made to commence in a higher class.⁴ This poor neglected youth, who, but shortly before, had for the first time cast a look into the world, and who was still deficient in so much knowledge which

³ It is interesting to compare this description of Feuerbach which partly also refers to Hauser's time in Ansbach, with the account of the teacher Meyer. (Pies)

⁴ From this situation he has, however, since I have been writing this small work, been delivered by the generosity of the noble Earl Stanhope, who has formally adopted him as his foster-son.

He lives now at Ansbach, where he has been just put under the care of an able school master, who has taken him into his house. Some time hence he will, under safe conduct, follow his beloved foster-father to England.* (Feuerbach)

* This footnote as well as the sentimental dedication of this book to the Earl of Stanhope, shows how much the English Lord had taken the part of Hauser at this time, or better said, how much Feuerbach thought he had. (Pies)

The Earl of Stanhope had Hauser sent to Meyer after the death of Feuerbach, where he was assassinated, which cast probably baseless suspicions on both of them. Later both Stanhope and Meyer published pamphlets arguing that he was an impostor, which was especially graceless from Stanhope who had legally adopted him and had promised Feuerbach to take him to England where he could hope to be safe. The battle over poor Caspar Hauser was too fierce to be reviewed here. (Zingg, see p. 358, fn. 7 and 360, fn. 10)

other children acquire at their mother's breast or in the laps of their nurses, was at once obliged to torment his head with the Latin grammar and Latin exercises; with Cornelius Nepos, and, finally, even with Caesar's *Commentaries*.

Screwed into the common form of school education, his mind suffered as it were its second imprisonment. As formerly the walls of his dungeon, so now, the walls of the school-room excluded him from nature and from life; instead of useful things he was made to learn words and phrases, the sense of which, and their relation to things and conceptions, he was unable to comprehend; and thus, his childhood was, in the most unnatural manner, lengthened. While he was thus wasting his time and his sufficiently scanty mental powers upon the dry trash of a grammar school, his mind continued to starve, for want of the most necessary knowledge of things which might have nourished and exhilarated it, which might have given him some indemnification for the loss of his youth, and might have served as a foundation for some useful employment of his time in future. "I do not know"—he would often say with vexation, and almost in despair—"I do not know what good all these things are to do me, since I neither can nor wish to become a clergyman." When once a pedant said to him, "the Latin language is indispensably necessary for the sake of the German language; in order to have a thorough knowledge of the German, it is necessary to learn the Latin," his good sense replied; "was it then necessary for the Romans to learn German in order to have a thorough knowledge of how they were to speak and write Latin?"

We may judge how the Latin suited Caspar, and Caspar the Latin, from the circumstance, that when this bearded Latinist was staying with me for a short time in the spring of 1831, he had not yet learned by experience, that objects of sight appear smaller at a distance than they really are. He wondered that the trees of an alley in which we were walking became smaller and lower, and the walk narrower at a distance; so that it appeared as if at length it would be impossible to pass them. He had not observed this at Nuremberg, and when he had walked down the alley with me, he was astonished, as if he had been looking upon the effects of magic, to find that each of the trees were equally high, and that the walk was everywhere equally broad.

The oppressive consciousness of his ignorance, helplessness, and dependance; the conviction that he should never be able to regain his lost youth, to equal those who were of the same age with him, and to become a useful man in the world; that, not only had the most beautiful part of man's life been taken away from him, but that also the whole remainder

of his life had been crippled and rendered wretched; and, finally, that, besides all this, the miserable remainder of his respite life, was every moment threatened by a secret enemy, by the dagger of an assassin;—these are the pitiable contents of the tale which is told by the clouds of grief which overhang his brow, and, not unfrequently pour themselves forth in tears and in sorrowing lamentations.

During the time he was staying at my house, I often took him along with me in my walks, and I conducted him once, on a pleasant morning, up one of our, so called, mountains, where a beautiful and cheerful prospect opens upon the handsome city lying beneath it, and upon a lovely valley surrounded by hills. Caspar was, for a moment, highly delighted with the view; but he soon became silent and sad.

To my question concerning the reason of his altered humour, he replied, "I was just thinking how many beautiful things there are in the world, and how hard it is for me to have lived so long and to have seen nothing of them; and how happy children are who have been able to see all these things from their earliest infancy, and can still look at them. I am already so old, and am still obliged to learn what children knew long ago. I wish I had never come out of my cage; he who put me there should have left me there. Then I should never have known and felt the want of any thing; and I should not have experienced the misery of never having been a child, and of having come so late into the world." I endeavoured to pacify him by telling him, "That in respect to the beauties of nature, there was no great cause for regretting his fate in comparison with that of other children and men, who had been in the world since their childhood. Most men, having grown up amidst these glorious sights, and considering them as common things which they see every day, regard them with indifference; and retaining the same insensibility throughout their whole life, they feel no more at beholding them, than animals grazing in a meadow. For him (Caspar) who had entered upon life as a young man, they had been preserved in all their freshness and purity; and hereby no small indemnification was given him for the loss of his earlier years; and he had thus gained a considerable advantage over them." He answered nothing, and seemed, if not convinced, yet somewhat comforted. But it will never be possible, at any time, entirely to comfort him respecting his fate. He is a tender tree, from which the crown has been taken, and the heart of whose root is gnawed by a worm.

In such states of mind, and thus feeling his situation, religion, faith in God, and a hope in Providence founded upon that faith, could not but find entrance into a heart so much in need of comfort. He is now, in the

true sense of the word, a pious man; he speaks with devotion of God, and is fond of reading books of rational edification. But, to be sure, he would swear to none of the symbolical books; and much less would he feel happy in a devout assembly of the disciples of Hengstenberg and company.⁵

Taken by times away from the nursery-tales of his early attendants, buried as a child, and raised again to life as a ripe young man, he brought with him to the light of the world, a mind free from every kind of superstition. As in the beginning it was with difficulty that he could be made conscious of the existence of his won spirit, he is in no wise inclined to believe in spectral spirits. He laughs at the belief of spectral apparitions, as at the most inconceivable of all human absurdities; he fears nothing, but the secret enemy whose murderous steel he has felt; and, if security could be given him, that he had nothing to dread from that man, he would walk at any hour of the night over a churchyard, and sleep without apprehension upon graves.

His present mode of life is that which is common to most men. With the exception of pork, he eats all kinds of meats that are not seasoned with hot spices. His favourite condiments are still carraway, fennel, and coriander. His drink continues to be water; and only in the morning, he takes a cup of unspiced chocolate instead of it. All fermented liquors, beer, and wine, as also tea and coffee are still an abomination to him; and, if a few drops of them were forced upon him, they would infallibly make him sick.

The extraordinary, almost preternatural, elevation of his senses, had also been diminished, and has almost sunk to the common level. He is indeed still able to see in the dark; so that, in respect to him, there exists no real night but only twilight; but he is no longer able to read in the dark nor to recognize the most minute objects at a great distance. Whereas he was formerly able to see much better and more distinctly in a dark night than by day-light, the contrary is now the case. Like other men, he is now able to bear, and he loves, the light of the sun, and it no longer distresses his eyes. Of the gigantic powers of his memory, and of other astonishing qualities, not a trace remains. He no longer retains any thing that is extraordinary, but his extraordinary fate, his indescribable goodness, and the exceeding amiableness of his disposition.

At this point Feuerbach's account of the life and fate of Kaspar Hauser

⁵He was educated in the Evangelical-Lutheran religion, which most of the inhabitants of Nuremberg profess. (Feuerbach)

breaks off, for the reason that this great friend and protector of the famous foundling of Nuremberg died on May 29, 1833,⁶ the year that the English translation here quoted was published. Before his death Feuerbach had the satisfaction (see p. 353, fn. 4) of seeing Kaspar Hauser taken under the protection of the great English Lord, the (5th)



Monument to Kaspar Hauser in the Hofgarten at Ansbach, at the spot where he was assassinated.

Earl of Stanhope. This change in Hauser's guardianship from the town of Nuremberg to the English Lord was in every way unfortunate to all. Kaspar Hauser was moved to Ansbach to the unsympathetic care of another teacher, Herr Meyer, where he met the sad end for which both he

⁶ The often repeated charge of those days that Feuerbach was poisoned by arsenic, though repeated as late as 1924 in Klara Hofer's book: *Das Schicksal einer Seele*, is not to be credited as Feuerbach died of a second stroke of paralysis. (Zingg)

and Stanhope were unfairly blamed. Stanhope partially brought suspicion on himself by shifting from guardian of the foundling to claiming that he was a hoax in a tract which he unfortunately published.⁷

To the reader of today the assassination of Kaspar Hauser was a crime against a human being as great as the original "crime against a human soul" involved in sequestering the boy. On December 14, 1833, the second attempt to assassinate Kaspar Hauser succeeded. The story of this has often been told, once as lately as 1930⁸ from the careful and voluminous official archives on Kaspar Hauser which still exist in Bavaria.

Leaving a friend's house where Christmas preparations were under way, between 2:30 and 3:30, Kaspar Hauser was enticed by a stranger into the little Hofgarten of Ansbach, where now a monument commemorates the sad event. The stranger had told him that he brought news of Hauser's mother. In the park the stranger gave Hauser a lady's handbag in which there was a note. As the youth eagerly searched through the bag, he was stabbed in the chest by a thin dagger, the point of which entered but did not pierce the heart. Hauser lived with this wound for three days and gave a complete account of the event.

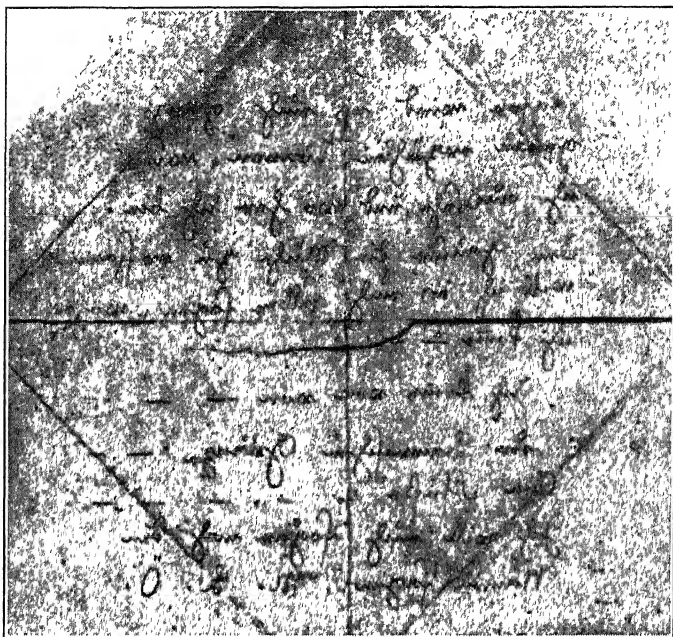
After giving the blow, the stranger fled, as tracks in the deep snow of the deserted park proved (though they were soon obliterated by the crowd of townspeople who flocked into the park). Kaspar Hauser walked to his home and returned to the park with Meyer who didn't believe his story. Weakening, Hauser was put to bed and the police and a doctor (Dr. Heidenreich) were called. Hauser died three days later and Dr. Heidenreich performed an autopsy.

The police found the lady's handbag in the snow of the park. It is still in existence as well as the note which it contained. The note was written

⁷ Philip Henry, (5th) Earl of Stanhope: *Tracts Relating to Caspar Hauser translated from the original German*. London, 1836. Throughout the rest of the century, the controversy over Hauser was so bitter and intense that as late as 1893 his daughter, Catherine Lucy Wilhelmina Powlett (Stanhope), Duchess of Cleveland, took up the cudgels for her father in: *The True Story of Kaspar Hauser from Official Document*. Macmillan and Company, London and New York, 1893.

This book was apparently a reply to the accusations that her father had been involved in the plot and had a part in the assassination of Hauser, advanced the year before in the book by Mrs. Elizabeth Edson (Gibson) Evans: *The Story of Kaspar Hauser from Authentic Records*, 1892, London. Swan Sonnenschein and Company. Paternoster Square (bibliography pp. 185-6.) This book also gives the circumstantial case for Kaspar's being the heir to the throne of Baden, as does the following:

⁸ Frau Luise Bartnig (In Memoriam Adolf Bartnig, a well-known student of criminal law of Hamburg, who has been long interested in the Hauser case): *Altes und Neues zur Kaspar Hauser Frage*, 1930, Druck von C. Brugel & Sohn AG., Ansbach. (See p. 360, fn. 10) Zingg.



The note written backwards, apparently by use of a mirror, left by Hauser's assassin

backwards, apparently by the use of a mirror. Its message has the same sardonic tone as the note which Kaspar brought with him on his appearance in Nuremberg five years before. The note translates into English as follows:

Hauser can tell you exactly
 How I look and who I am.
 If Hauser will not take this trouble
 Then I will myself say
 I come — — — — —
 I come from — — — — —
 Of the Bavarian border — — —
 At the river — — — — —
 And I will even tell you my name
 M. L. O.

The monarchical anti-Hauser party have argued the improbable thesis that Hauser committed suicide to attract attention; and that he wrote this note as well as the two which he brought with him on his appearance.

in Nuremberg. This story has recently been disproved by a German handwriting expert,⁹ who studied the numerous specimens of Hauser's handwriting extant and compared them with the original of the assassination note and lithographs of the notes Hauser brought with him on his first appearance. (The original of the first notes have been lost.)

Interest in the fascinating historical aspects of the tragic puzzle of Kaspar Hauser has lasted unabated for a century. The last few years have seen the publication of many of the legal and medical source materials from the well-preserved Bavarian archives on Kaspar Hauser. Also recently there has been published a Hauser bibliography of over one thousand titles: Peitser-Ley: *Kaspar Hauser . . .* (Druck von C. Brugel & Sohn AG, Ansbach).¹⁰

⁹ E. Brunner: *Geichtlich vereidigter Schriftsachverständiger*, Kaspar Hauser . . . Heidelberg, 1930. N. Kampmann, Verlag.

¹⁰ The Hauser legend, the historical hypothesis regarding Kaspar Hauser's royal claims to the throne of Baden is of sufficient interest to be summarized here in a footnote albeit a long one, from such accounts as Bartnig (1930) and Mrs. Evans (1892).

The independent Grand Duchy of Baden was a border state between France and Germany, which had been raised from a petty county in the long (71-year) reign of Markgraf, later Grand Duke, Charles Frederick (1738-1811). Toward the end of his reign this astute petty ruler had played the allegiance of his country between the powers and Napoleon so as to double its size and increase the wealth and corruption of its court.

In 1783 with the death of his wife, a princess of Hessen-Darmstadt, the old Grand Duke was left with three sons secure of legitimate succession; yet the line died out. In 1787 at 61 years of age the Grand Duke made a morganatic marriage with a pretty young lady of the court of 17, to whom he gave the title Countess of Hochberg. From this event stems the Hauser legend.

A genealogical table of these families is necessary to understand the rest of the account. (See p. 361)

Accounts of the times show that this court, like many of its day, was so corrupt and its aging ruler so weak as to make not incredible the belief which grew up and still exists in Baden that the Countess had been and still remained the mistress of the Grand Duke's third and youngest son, Prince Ludwig. To this son, only seven years older than the young Countess, rather than to the Grand Duke at 65 are attributed the four children which she bore in as many years between 1790 and 1794. The eldest of these, Leopold, (b. 1790), though close to the bar sinister, and of a morganatic marriage, ascended to the throne in 1830. But this did not happen until six legitimate male heirs were removed, four of them in a period of five years, while all eight legitimate princesses ineligible to the succession, lived, married, and died in ripe old age.

What happened to the legitimate heirs to the throne? The heir apparent, Prince Ludwig's eldest brother, Charles Ludwig, met an early end in 1801 on a visit to Stockholm. He was killed by a blow on the head in a mysterious stage-coach accident when he ventured from his realm to go to Sweden. His children included five daughters, two of which became rulers of Russia and Bavaria, giving up claims on Baden with the extinction of the male line.

The then heir apparent, Charles, is portrayed as a dissipated worn-out man, who probably would never have married had it not been for a State marriage demanded by no one less than the Emperor Napoleon, to whom this small State was allied.

Napoleon's candidate for Grand Duchess of Baden was his adopted daughter, Stephanie

GENEALOGY OF THE HOUSES OF THE GERMAN STATE OF BADEN AS RELATED TO THE HAUSER LEGEND.

Princess Caroline of Hessen Darmstadt m. Grand Duke Charles Frederick married (d. 1783). (b. 1728 reigned 1738-1811).

1. Crown Prince Charles 1755-1801. Mysteriously killed in a sleigh "accident" in Sweden.	m. Princess Amalie of Hessen Darmstadt.	2. Prince Frederick but childless d. May 28, 1817.	3. Prince Ludwig b. 1763. Unmarried, and as last of the line ruled as Grand Duke of Baden, 1818 to March 1830.
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Five princesses including Czarina Elizabeth of Russia and Queen Caroline of Bavaria who had claims to the throne of Baden in the direct line.

Prince Charles b. 1786 Ruled as Grand Duke from 1811 until his death 1818. Married 1836 to Stephanie Beauharnais, adopted daughter of Napoleon.

m. Stephanie Beauharnais, a commoner thus provided for at the command of Napoleon I. A tragic figure still recalled with sympathy in Baden.

Princess Luise (b. July 8, 1811). Lived to marry as Princess of Wesa.	Crown Prince, unnamed b. Sept. 29, 1812. Dead body found in his bed October 16, 1812.	Princess Josephine (b. Oct. 21, 1813) and married to become Princess of Hohenzollern.
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THIS IS THE HEIR IDENTIFIED AS KASPAR HAUSER.

Louis Flein Geyer von Geysersberg (later Countess of Hochberg). (b 1770, married the Grand Duke 1787, d. 1830).

Four children of which the eldest Leopold (b. 1790) ascended the throne of Baden to rule as Grand Duke. He was the first of the Hochberg line and ruled from 1830 until he died in 1852 with the brief interregnum of the Revolution of 1848 in Baden. He was re-established on the throne with the help of the Hohenzollerns of Prussia.

Crown Prince Alexander (b. May 1, 1816) and died under unexplained circumstances May 8, 1817.	Princess Marie (b. Oct. 11, 1817). Lived to become Duchess of Hamilton.
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Beauharnais, a friend and confidante of the Empress Josephine. She was a commoner and worse, a foreigner, which weakened her position and rights in the Court of Baden.

The marriage of the grandson and heir apparent to the throne of Baden, Charles, to Stephanie Beauharnais took place in 1806 at the height of Napoleon's power. In 1811 they ascended the throne at the death of the old Grand Duke, after one of the longest reigns in history.

That year 1811 the Grand Ducal pair had a daughter who lived to become the Princess of Wasa. The next year on September 29, 1812, a Crown Prince was born, who was supposed to have died two weeks later, October 16, 1812, and who is identified as Kaspar Hauser. The following year October 21, 1813, another daughter was born who lived to marry as a Princess of Hohenzollern. The youngest child was also a daughter, born October 11, 1817, who lived to marry the Duke of Hamilton. Between these two daughters however was a son, the Crown Prince Alexander, born May 1, 1816. Like his brother who "died" unnamed soon after birth, this Crown Prince died a year and a week after birth. Accounts of the death of this baby vary, Adolph Bartnig (1930) saying the circumstances are not clear; while Mrs. Evans in a more circumstantial account says while the attendants of the second little Prince were preparing to weigh him, a certain Herr von Ende poured a "white powder" in the child's broth; and the child died the next day, May 8, 1817. More research on this point crucial for the Hauser legend is indicated.

These two blows against the dynasty, only five years apart, would have aroused more suspicion with the death only twenty days later, May 28, 1817, of the then heir apparent, Prince Frederick, uncle of the ruler and elder brother of Prince Ludwig. Married but childless, Prince Frederick apparently died a natural death from apoplexy brought on by his fantastic dissipations. The heir apparent was then Prince Ludwig, the last of the legitimate line who ascended to the throne the next year 1818. Unaccountable except by the Hauser hypothesis, Ludwig never married, though the succession of the morganatic Hochberg line jeopardized the very existence of Baden due to the claims of both Russia, Austria and Bavaria, through marriages of Ludwig's nieces in the direct line.

During the five years 1812-17 during which four heirs to the throne of Baden were removed, there was an apparent attempt in 1815 on the life of the ruling Grand Duke Charles by poisoning. After the fall of Napoleon in 1814, the ruler was forced to go to the Congress of Vienna where the future of his country, like so many others in Europe, was at stake when Napoleon's Empire was being unscrambled. Recalling that in 1801, his father had been mysteriously killed in a stage-coach accident in Sweden, the Grand Duke may have known that this was dangerous. He was accompanied by Major Hennenhofer, who in the Hauser legend is the prime villain; and an attempt was made to poison him. When this plot miscarried, suspicion was directed to the Grand Duke's valet who committed suicide. Though the Grand Duke was not immediately killed by this attempt in 1815, he never fully recovered and died three years later in 1818, when Prince Ludwig ascended the throne to rule until 1830 (three years before Kaspar Hauser's death).

After this attempt upon his life, the Grand Duke Charles, always suspicious took action against this plot against his line. Suspicions were naturally directed against Prince Ludwig, who now stood nearer the throne, and the Countess of Hochberg. They together with Major Hennenhofer were banished to their estates.

Save for the Hauser legend account of the love affair between Prince Ludwig and the Countess of Hochberg, so far we have dealt with historical facts that he who runs may read. Less obvious, but still highly probable is the Hauser hypothesis behind the Pragmatic Sanction, issued by the ruler Charles in favor of the Hochbergs in 1817 which was recognized by Austria and Bavaria by the Treaty of Frankfurt, July 10, 1819.

It seems incredible that the Grand Duke Charles should not have made greater efforts to stop the plots against his dynasty, had it not been that the feverish years between 1814-18, after the fall of Napoleon's Empire, were no time for small principalities to air

horrible dynastic scandals. In those days of the vogue of "legitimacy," Baden could easily have been lost by public investigation of these scandals.

The Genealogical table shows that one of the Grand Duke's sisters, Caroline, had married the King of Bavaria. She had given birth to the then Crown Prince and later King of Bavaria, Ludwig I. To him the Grand Duke attributed the attack on him in Vienna, because with failure of the legitimate male line in Baden, Bavaria could claim the country through Ludwig's mother, Caroline.

Adolf Bartnig (1930) says that in 1816 Austria backed the Bavarian claims to that part of Baden which contains Heidelberg and Mannheim, in case the legitimate line died out, as it did. By skillful politics the Grand Duke Charles was able to counterbalance both Austria and Bavaria, by the all-powerful Russian Czar, Alexander I, who had married the Grand Duke's other sister, Elizabeth. She not only loved her homeland of Baden, but also openly deprecated Crown Prince Ludwig of Bavaria, her nephew. Thus it was that a year after the death of the Grand Duke Charles, Bavaria and Austria recognized his Pragmatic Sanction in favor of the Hochbergs, in Case Prince Ludwig, the then ruler of Baden, had no heirs.

Not only does this account for Charles's failure to stop the Hochberg plots against his line; but it also reveals why the Bavarian Justice Feuerbach from 1828-1833, was unable to bring the civil justice to the gates of certain castles. The King of Bavaria was Ludwig I, and it was of as little service to his pretensions to the throne of Baden as it was to the Hochbergs, if Kaspar Hauser was revealed as the true heir to the throne of Baden.

Historians cannot answer the question why during the years (1818-30) of the reign of the Grand Duke Ludwig, the last of the legitimate line, he should have never married when the existence of his country, in lack of direct issue, depended on Bavarian-Austrian recognition of the Pragmatic Sanction of 1818-19. The Hauser hypothesis explains this neatly; but here we mostly leave the realm of recorded history and must depend on political pamphlets, gossip, and folk belief. This would be a waste of time, were it not for so much smoke indicating some fire; and the fact that the full benefit of the German law was given to those against Kaspar Hauser, and the full force of the law was felt by anyone who spoke a word on his side both before and after the Revolution of 1848, in which his memory was a moving influence in Baden where the Hochberg line was temporarily driven from the throne.

If nothing else, through police and other official intervention the historic sources for this case were destroyed. Bartnig's account (1930) outlines the oft-mentioned figure of the Baden Minister von Hacke, who is supposed to have played an important part in the plot. He died so suddenly after 1834 as to suggest removal because of guilty knowledge.

Bartnig then reviews a recently published book by Sittenberger based on researches in the State Archives in Vienna. This quotes dispatches of 1854 from Philippsburg, the Austrian Ambassador to the Court of Baden. These were written to the Austrian Minister Buol and were written just after the death in 1852 of the first ruler of Baden of the Hochberg line, the Grand Duke Leopold.

The ambassador wrote the minister that a well-known personage, who had been the trusted man of King Leopold, had come to him to speak of certain secret papers which the king had entrusted to him in an iron box to give to any members of the royal family. "These papers referred to the life and death of Kaspar Hauser and had, for the most part, been taken from the estate of Major Hennenhofer. One of these letters compromised a drug-clerk named Sauler in the murder of Kaspar Hauser. King Leopold himself had apparently from horror, talked with his trusted man and confided in him that it was not his fault, that when he repented from anything, he would gladly descend from his throne."

The man went on to tell the ambassador that "a crime had been committed against the sons of the Grand Duke Charles, which had been caused by Countess Hochberg, in which the Grand Duke Ludwig and Major Hennenhofer were accomplices. In connection

with this crime the Grand Duke Charles's valet had been killed in Vienna, as well as a Chamberlain in Karlsruhe." (von Hacke?)

The story of the crime against the first son of the Grand Duke Charles, and the rationale why the plotter, Prince Ludwig, never married even to preserve his line and his land are told in more detail by Mrs. Evans in an account consistent with this but without citing her sources other than pirated sections from the same Major Hennenhofer's diary, just mentioned.

It will be recalled that the two-weeks-old, and as yet unnamed heir of the ruling Grand Duke Charles was believed to have died on October 16, 1812. The Grand Duchess Stephanie had almost died in delivery and was still desperately ill. The trusted nurse of the child was away that night and Mrs. Evans's account agrees with others in saying that the other two attendants were in such deep slumber the night before that they did not awaken when the princeling became ill. They appeared to have been drugged.

The Hauser legend is that, protected by two base guards of Prince Ludwig, named Burkhard and Sauerbeck, the Countess of Hochberg entered the child's room through a secret entrance in the wall unknown to the regular guards. Once safely within the child's chamber through the help of Ludwig, the Countess of Hochberg had plans other than her fellow plotter, Prince Ludwig, who was still bound to her by crime since the death of Prince Charles Ludwig in the stage-coach accident in Sweden in 1801. Prince Ludwig, whom every crime brought nearer the throne, was in 1812 in love with the Countess of Langenstein.

How could the Countess of Hochberg be sure that all her risks and crimes would not see Prince Ludwig on the throne to marry another and have children to carry on the legitimate line to the exclusion of their illegitimate children of the Hochberg line? She would keep the prince as a live pawn against Ludwig, which accounts for the survival of Kaspar Hauser.

The tool of both the conspirators was an unscrupulous officer Major Hennenhofer, whose love for the sister of Prince Ludwig's mistress gave him need of both position and money. Poor and a commoner, Hennenhofer had nothing until the death of the new-born prince. Later he was to rise so high as to become Foreign Minister under Prince Ludwig's reign as Grand Duke.

The Hauser story is that when the Countess of Hochberg entered the state apartment of the little prince, she did not poison the child. Unknown to Ludwig, Hennenhofer had provided her with an illegitimate child of a peasant girl. This was the child to be poisoned and left, to die in the cradle the next day.

The baby prince is then said to have been handed to Hennenhofer who hurried through the park of the castle to be driven off in a closed carriage. He had already arranged to place the child with a wet nurse. To her he said that the child was the illegitimate offspring of a high lady in the court whose reputation must be jealously guarded. It was kept with her for three or four years.

Early the next morning the dead baby was discovered. The royal doctor examined the child and said that he had died from injuries received in the difficult birth which had almost killed the mother. The body was hurriedly buried in the royal vaults of Pforzheim.

The Hauser legend continues that the peasant girl, who had given up her child, was conscience-stricken at its fate unknown to her. She is said to have confessed to her priest, Herr Dietz of the capital Karlsruhe. He was wise enough to suspect the fate of the child. These suspicions, for safety, he shared with two other priests. They all used their suspicions to good advantage for distinguished careers in the State Church of Baden. Herr Dietz was promptly given the best parish of the county, Hochsahl near Lauffenburg on the Rhine.

The following part of the Hauser legend is given both by Bartnig and Mrs. Evans:

The child appears to have been cared for, after about four years of age, by a monk in a dungeon at Lauffenburg. The story to account for this interpretation is as extraordinary as

that so amazing a creature as Kaspar Hauser should have appeared at Nuremberg thirteen years later, with the bizarre letter he carried.

A garbled Latin note was found in 1816 by fishermen in an empty wine bottle off the coast of France, which had been thrown into the Rhine apparently from a dungeon of one of its castles near Lauffenburg. The note was published in the Paris newspaper *Monteur*, November 16, 1816. The Latin note translates into:

I am a prisoner in a dungeon near Lauffenburg on the Rhine.
My cell is underground, and the one who usurped my throne
Does not even know the place.
I cannot write more as I am kept in painful and ghastly durance.

The signature of this extraordinary communication was "S. Hanes Sprancio," which Hauser students have worked out as an anagram for "Sein Sohn Caspai."

The Hauser legend continues that the publication of this letter in a Paris newspaper in 1816 frightened the conspirators into moving the child from a place so near at hand to Bavaria. Here somewhere near Nuremberg, where he appeared, Kaspar Hauser may have been kept in an underground cellar from 1816 to 1828, when he appeared with letters hardly less fantastic than the foregoing.

Though the Countess of Hochberg died in 1820, Kaspar Hauser was not released until 1828 with notes designed to cause him to be lost in the anonymity of the Bavarian mounted forces. At this late date two years before the end of Ludwig's reign of Baden, it would have been clear to the Hochberg party that the last Grand Duke in the legitimate line would never marry or could never have children. In that year Prince Ludwig was 65 years of age. The need for a pawn against his marriage was slight.

Five years later, 1833, the fame and furore aroused by the famous ward of Nuremberg made Kaspar Hauser the most famous personage in Europe. Thousands of people visited Nuremberg to see him. Word was printed in the papers that he was writing his autobiography. He was assassinated, when the Hochberg line was barely three years on the throne of Baden. In the Revolution of 1848 the house of Hennenhofer was stoned as that of the assassin. In 1850, Hennenhofer died.

Before Hennenhofer's death, a secretary working in his library is said by Hauser partisans to have pirated parts of Hennenhofer's memoirs of his part in this crime, which were published in France. One complete copy of Hennenhofer's diary is supposed to have been left in Heidelberg and another sent outside the country. In 1854 we have seen that the Austrian ambassador to Baden makes reference to this diary or other papers from the estate of Major Hennenhofer in the possession of the first Hochberg Grand Duke Leopold. The then ruler is also reported as uneasy about his throne and anxious to descend from it in moments of remorse for crimes committed by his mother, Prince Ludwig, and Major Hennenhofer.

Such are the elements of the Hauser legend, facts and fancy, beyond all hope of historical proof now, unless Hennenhofer's or other papers have survived the intervening century, if indeed records of such dark deeds were ever committed to paper.

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